VEDIC VARIANTS

BLO-V

VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated Mantras of the Veda

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

*Late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in The Johns Hopkins University*

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in Yale University*

Volume I
THE VERB

ORIENTAL REPRINT

Oriental Books Reprint Corporation
Book Publishers, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55

CONTENTS

5

PREFACE

Here is presented the first volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The aim of this work is to present a grammatical and stylistic study of the entire mass of the variant readings in the repeated mantras of the Vedic tradition, as revealed primarily by Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* That book presents a complete 'index to every line of every stanza of the [then] published Vedic literature [and of some works not yet published at the time], and to the liturgical formulas thereof.' Of its some 90,000 entries, not far from a third occur more than once, either in the same text or in different texts Of the repeated text-units, again, it is estimated that about one-third show variations. The VEDIC VARIANTS are concerned with the variant readings of these repeated mantras, numbering roughly 10,000.

As to extent, the variations range all the way from change of a single letter in a single word, to radical rearrangements of the whole text They may or may not be accompanied by shift of meaning, great or slight They may be assumed to have been made sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously As to character, they are of the most varied sort They concern phonetics, the interrelation of different sounds and sound-changes, various departments of morphology, such as formation of stems of nouns, pronouns, and verbs, their inflection, and suffixation; syntax; order of words in the sentence, synonyms, meter, etc. There is hardly an important paragraph in Vedic grammar, or a department of the textual criticism and exegesis of the Veda, on which they fail to throw light

Furthermore, it is believed that the Variants will have great interest and value for general linguistics The literature of the world happens to contain no analogous body of material which can compare with them in size and scope The tradition of the Veda was at first oral; and

what was originally one and the same stanza or formula was handed down in the texts of the various schools in more or less varying forms The variants are often of the same general character as those which appear in the various forms of ballads, or of church hymns there are simple differences in the order of words; differences due to the substitution of a more familiar, handy, or modern word or grammatical form for an archaic, inconvenient, or obsolescent one of equivalent meaning or function [or the converse of this, due to a conscious archaizing tendency]. To this must be added the very important point that there are also many

11

cases in which a given mantra passage, composed under certain definite circum-
stances, was later on adapted and changed to serve a new purpose

Furthermore, Vedic literary production is often in a high degree imitative and
mechanical [a trait which it shares with most religious literature]   The poets or
priests, more or less consciously, fell into habits of expression such that entire
lines of different stanzas or hymns, and considerable sequences of words of differ-
ent prose passages, show much similarity.

So, but for the bracketed phrases, Bloomfield wrote in the Preface to
his Concordance, before he had systematically studied the Variants
Later he would probably have laid greater stress on the presumably
unconscious element in the variations, which was perhaps at least as
weighty as the conscious, and is certainly at least as interesting linguisti-
cally   I suspect, at any rate, that we learn even more about the speech-
habits of the Vedic priests from the changes which they introduced
without realizing it, than from their deliberate alterations   But whether
conscious or unconscious—and at this distance it is obviously impossible
to separate the two classes with confidence—any linguistic scholar will
see at a glance how many interesting observations can be drawn from
these thousands of variations, touching on every field of grammar and of
linguistic psychology.

From the pages of the Concordance, Bloomfield collected and classi-
fied the Variants in a preliminary way, arranging them topically under
ten or a dozen main heads, with numerous subdivisions in each   Of
course very many passages had to be included several times over under
different headings   This preliminary spade-work was completed when
he proposed to the present writer a collaborative enterprise, which
offer was gladly accepted   This was about 1913   In the next half-
dozen years I worked up from Bloomfield's lists, supplemented by
further gleanings of my own, a preliminary draft of four of the major
sections of the work those on Phonetics (including Euphonic Combi-
nation or Sandhi), on Noun Formation (stems and suffixes), on Noun
Inflection, and on Order of Words   Bloomfield completed the first
draft of the greater part of the section on the Verb   There the matter
rested, for lack of prospect of publication   Bloomfield left collectanea
on Synonyms, Pronouns, and Prepositions and Particles, and a few minor
lists, in addition to those already mentioned   A section on Meter
would also be desirable

On Bloomfield's death in 1928, I took charge of the entire work,
and I have since revised and completed the section on the Verb, here
presented   It seems best to publish it first, since the major part of it

can be issued substantially as it came from the pen of one of the world's greatest Vedists and linguistic scholars.

The publication has been made possible by the generous aid of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, and of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, to both of which hearty thanks are due and are hereby tendered. The surviving author also desires to express his deep appreciation of the staunch and effective support given to the project by the Chairman of the Committee on Publications of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, Professor George Melville Bolling.

Since the work on the Variants has been a collaborative enterprise, and since it was Bloomfield's intention that it should appear over our joint names, no attempt has been made to separate the contributions of the two authors It would, indeed, be impossible to make such a separation completely. Credit belongs to Bloomfield alone for the general plan of the whole work on the Variants; it was he who conceived it and sketched its outlines. He also prepared, from the Concordance, the preliminary lists of materials for this as well as for nearly all the volumes to follow. To some extent these lists have been expanded by further search on my part, in the Concordance and elsewhere. Moreover, it was Bloomfield, as stated above, who prepared for publication the first draft of the major part of this volume, on the Verb. To be exact, he wrote out a draft of all except the long chapter on Person and Number, the last in the book. I have checked and revised his manuscript, verifying most of the references from the original texts, and making such changes as seemed to me necessary. Most of the changes were of the sort which I am confident he would have made himself in a final revision. I have preserved his language thruout as far as it was possible to do so. A more radical revision of some paragraphs has been made necessary by the appearance, since Bloomfield wrote his manuscript, of new publications, as for instance Renou's valuable dissertation on *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques* (Paris, 1925). When I have made such far-reaching changes, and whenever I could not feel entirely confident that Bloomfield would have been in agreement with what I have written, I have enclosed my additions or substitutions in [square brackets], followed by the initials of my name. I hope and believe that, even in these parts (which are not numerous), I have written little that would not have met with his approval. The chapter on Person and Number is entirely my work, aside from the gathering of the preliminary lists, which in this case proved to be rather

incomplete. Under the circumstances I must perforce accept entire responsibility for the final form of the work as printed, as well as for that of all the volumes to follow   In them, unhappily, Bloomfield's share will be much smaller than in this volume; altho I am glad to say that some of the others, notably that on Phonetics, received considerable attention from him

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The abbreviations used need little explanation. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance; except that, of course, the letter *ś* is substituted for *ç*, as also in all Sanskrit words, in accordance with the now prevalent international usage. Other abbreviations are rarely used and, it is hoped, will be self-explanatory *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

Two symbols, which are frequently used, require explanation: the asterisk * and the dagger †.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading of one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute. For instance: *satyam vadiṣyāmi* (TA.* *vadiṣye*) TA. (bis) TU. ŚG, MG. This means that TA. has the pāda in both forms, namely, *satyaṁ vadiṣyāmi*, and *satyam vadiṣye*.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance. For instance: *tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah* (MŚ † *°tah*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This means that the reading of MŚ. is wrongly quoted in the Concordance (it fails to note the variant *bibhṛtuh*).

-

CHAPTER I   INTRODUCTORY

Scope and plan of this work

§1. The variations in verbal inflexion are concerned with every leading aspect under which the verb is treated in the grammars. They are, however, dealt with here not in the usual order of the Sanskrit grammars, but either according to their relative importance, or in accordance with certain logical and practical conveniences. These interchanges are, in any case, heterogeneous, partly formal, partly syntactical, and partly stylistic; the boundary lines between these kinds are hazy. The more important rubrics, such as voice, mood, and tense, are, moreover, so large a part of the whole as to call for first consideration, to some extent they serve as a convenient background for assorting and placing the remaining interchanges. It has seemed best then to present the subject under the following nine larger rubrics:

II. The Voices
III. The Moods
IV. The Tenses and Tense-Systems
V. The Secondary Conjugations
VI Interchange between finite Verbs and Verbal Nouns
VII Interchanges of equivalent Personal Endings
VIII. Matters pertaining to Augment and Reduplication
IX. Variation in Grade of Stems and Allied Matters
X. Person and Number

§2. By way of illustrating the combined effects of most, or at least many, of these phases of verbal variation in the case of a given root, we have chosen the root *hū* 'call'. The interchanges practised on the body of this root are gathered in the following list:

huve nu (RV. VS. KS MahānU. *hvayāmi*) *śakraṁ puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV *havante;* comm. *ahvayanta*) RV. AV. KS.

sarvān agnīṅr apsuṣado huve vaḥ (MS. om *vah*) TS. MS AB : *śiṅ ān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV.

marutvantaṁ sakhyāya havāmahe (SV. *huvemahi*) RV. SV.

17

tam (RV om) *sarasi antam avase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe;* RV. KS
 johavīmi) RV RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnim (AV *ukthair,* MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt
 sadhasthāt* AV TA. MahānU

rtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *harāmahe*) AV. VS TS MS. KS AŚ.
 ŚŚ.

prālarjitam bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV AV. VS TB
 ApMB N

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV *harāmahe*) RV. AV VS TB
 ApMB.

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait. °*hi,* VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hvāmahe*) RV VS.
 VSK. TS MS. KS. AB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ. LŚ ApŚ Vait Kauś.
 The Vait (20 9) reading should be the same as that of its source,
 Kauś 89 1, but 3 mss of Kauś read *hvāmahi*, and possibly this
 should be read in both texts

rathīlamau rathīnām ahva (KS °*nām huva*) *ūtaye* TS MS KS : *āsūn
 huve* (AV *iva*) *suyamān* (AV. °*mān ahva*) *ūtaye* AV. TS MS KS

havante vājasātaye RV.· *huvema rā*° RV SV MS KS : *huveya rā*° RV.
 AV

*bṛhaspatim vah prajāpatim ro . . . iśvān vo devān viśvatah pari harā-
 mahe* GB Vait · cf. *bṛhaspatim viśvān devān aham huve* RV.

§3. If we contemplate this welter of variations we find, in the first
place, that it is not due, as might be antecedently supposed, to adapta-
tion. No variant serves a new purpose, different from that of the par-
allels They are, without exception, grammatical or mildly stylistic
And they often betray themselves as being blends of two or more exist-
ing expressions, which appear in the texts, notably the RV , elsewhere
Thus, in the item

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe,* KS *johavīmi*),

the unmetrical KS. reading is due, secondarily of course, to the parallel
pāda

sarasvantam avase johavīmi RV.

Here *johavīmi* is metrically faultless, and its passage into a wrong place
was, perhaps, promoted further by the cadences *avase johavīmi,* RV.
1 34 12, and *avase johavīti,* RV 3 62 2; 7 38 6.

§4 In no less than five instances of the above list AV. reads, at the
end of its pādas, *havāmahe* in the place of related expressions in other
texts. So favorite a cadence has this become in AV that we find it in
four of these five times as a mildly incommensurable *jagatī* cadence in

otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanzas: 3. 16 2, 7. 6 2, 7. 40. 1, 16. 1. 13 [1]   Only in
one case, 3. 16 1, does the AV. cadence conform to the rest of the (*jagatī*)
stanza.   It is quite clear that AV , tho well acquainted with all the
other present stems of the root *hū*, has been enticed into this preference
for *havāmahe* by the fact that the word occurs extensively at the ends of
pādas; e.g *avase havāmahe* RV 2 16 1, 3 26 2, 8 86 4, 8 99.·8, 10 66
4, reproduced in two of the four AV instances, 7. 6 2,-7. 40 1.   For
other numerous instances of *havāmahe* in *jagatī* cadence see *RVRep*
660, under final cadences in -*he*

§5. That the four present stems of *hū*, namely *hava*, *huva*, *hvaya*, and
johavī, should interchange in the total oral Vedic tradition, needs no
comment   It is, probably, supported by set phrases in which the *hū*
present is accompanied by some other word   The only surprising thing
is that the popular AV has not passed over into the (later regular) stem
hvaya, but, on the contrary, finds it in its heart to exhibit in two in-
stances other stems for *hvaya* of parallel texts[2]

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānŪ *hvayāmi*) *śakraṁ puruhūtam indram*
    RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānŪ.
sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV KS [3]

§6 For interchange in this group betwee⁻ moods, tenses, augmented
and augmentless forms, and so forth, see the respective rubrics   Bar-
ring occasional textual blunders, these and the countless others like them
from other roots are one and all outcomes of Vedic tradition as a whole,
which in the main does not show the formal, syntactic, and stylistic
stability which is customary in literature of a more advanced type.   For
the most part, as may be seen, rubric by rubric, the variations between
text and text are based upon the natural freedom of expression in prayers
and songs of praise, and upon the looser syntax which, compared for
instance with Greek and Latin, pervades Sanskrit from the Veda to the
end of its career   Faults of memory no doubt entered largely into these
variations, and so help to account for such instability in the tradition
of the Vedic mantras, which was so largely oral

[1] In one internal occurrence, 7 63 1, AV uses *havāmahe* where it can only be
called a gross metrical blunder *agnim* (AV *ukthair*, MahānŪ *ugram*) *huvema*
(AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānŪ
[2] See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21 48, *The Atharvaveda* 50, r 5
[3] Here, to be sure, the AV comm reads *ahvayanta* with the rest   The variant
quoted by the Conc as *apām napātam aśvinā huve dhiyā* (TS *aśvinā hvayantām*)
is a slip, TS reads *hayanta* ·ι and this does not concern the root *hū*

Ambiguous grammatical forms: augmented and augmentless preterites

§7 According to a familiar experience of Vedic grammar it is quite often difficult, or even impossible, to determine the precise formal or functional meaning of certain Vedic verbs This difficulty would, to some extent, seem to be eliminable by means of the variants which are, of course, occasionally in the nature of reciprocal comments Thus augmentless preterites are not infrequently in interchange with unambiguous modal forms This makes, or seems at first blush to make, *prima facie* evidence in favor of the modal (injunctive) value of the corresponding augmentless forms, and as a rule we have so classified them Thus in the class 'Subjunctive and Injunctive', §167 f , the augmentless forms are regarded as modal Yet they might in perhaps every case be considered preterites, but for that very interchange with subjunctives, as e g in

prācīnam sīdat (MS *sīdāt praaisā pṛthivyāh* VS MS KS TB

Nay more. even in spite of that interchange, there is no way of proving that they are not to be considered preterites For, as we shall show, §§112 ff , indicatives of all sorts, and §§127 ff more particularly preterites, exchange with moods of all sorts on a huge scale for good and proper reasons, so that the alternation of *sīdat* and its apparent interpreter *sīdāt* really proves nothing in itself The decision in such cases must be left to tactful individual considerations

§8 We would draw attention here to a few especially vexing cases of this sort, e g ·

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*[4], KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB. 'delightful to taste be (were) to thee the oblations.' Here *svadan* may be injunctive to match the modal (imperative) *svadantām*, or it may be preterite indicative to match *asvadan*[5] Chi lo sa? Similarly, in

kāmam (AV. PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV. *viveśa,* KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB. TB TA AŚ ApŚ ,

viśat is ambiguous, it may be preterite, to match *viveśa*, or injunctive to match *viśa*. Of a different aspect is

āsann ā (SV PB. *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °*tu*) *devāh* RV. SV. VS. TS MS KS PB ŚB

---

[4] In one of two occurrences the MS mss and ed read *svadam* (p p likewise), which is probably an error as indicated by the other reading in the same text, tho possibly a transitive 1st person sing

[5] And that whether we regard it as augmentless with the mss and p p of MS , or as intended for '*svadan* = *asvadan* of KS , we ignore at this point this purely formal question as to whether an augment is or is not felt as present where Vedic sandhi permits the elision of initial *a*, a question which obviously increases the dubiety of some of the forms we are discussing, see §§264ff

'the gods begot (shall beget) him (Agni) as a vessel at their (our) mouths.'
We have classified (§136) *janayanta* as imperfect, because that seems to
us the better sense, we are frankly subjective, as we think we must be
In other words, we refuse to attach value in this instance to the implied
comment of the single *janayantu* of KS   Yet the Kāṭhakas, if we may
trust their tradition, evidently conceived the passage reasonably enuf.
Next,

tisro yad agne śaradas tvām ic, chucini ghṛtena śucayah saparyān (TB.
saparyan), *nāmāni cid dadhire yajñiyām* RV. TB ,

'when for three autumns (seasons? = one year, Bergaigne 2. 117 n.) the
pure (gods?) honored with ghee just thee, O Agni, the pure one, they
obtained names (forms) worthy of sacrifice ' Here one might classify
saparyan as injunctive, because of the modal value of *saparyān*   But
[the reason for this modal form has never been explained (F E), and]
a glance at §§264 ff shows that augmentless imperfects may be regarded
just as easily as true imperfects.   On the whole, in spite of the implied
comment of *saparyān*, we have preferred to construe (§145, d) *saparyan*
as imperfect.   [This may, indeed, suggest the reason for TB's varia-
tion; to the feeling of TB., as to ours, an imperfect indicative was per-
haps required F E]

§9. Similarly, in

jātah pṛchad (SV *pṛchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV.

(cf *vi pṛchad iti mātaram* RV.) 'as soon as born he asked his mother', the
SV., wholly contrary to our sense of fitness, imposes modal value upon
the verb   More perplexing than these is the small list discussed §268
(cf. §145), in which augmented imperfects interchange with correspond-
ing augmentless forms in dependent clauses   The latter may be either
imperfects, or injunctives, which occur freely enuf in relative clauses,
see §§125 and 168   In brief, the evidence of the variants, taken by
itself, rarely if at all fixes the syntactical value of augmentless preterites

Uncertainty as to the moods of certain presents and aorists

§10   In this work, as elsewhere, it is hard to distinguish modal forms
of the root-present and the accented *a*-present (aorist present) from the
modal forms of the root-aorist and the *a*-aorist.   In two related cases,

marto vurīta (TS. *vṛṇīta*, KS *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS. TS MS KS
ŚB

dyumnam (KS also °*ne*) *vṛṇīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS
TS MS KS ŚB

we have followed what may be called the orthodox classification of the

forms *turīla* (Lat. *tolīte*) and *varela* as aorists   The decision is grounded on the absence of forms with primary endings by the side of these forms   We are of course not influenced by the present-tense variant *vṛṇīta*, which is ambiguous as to mood.[6]   But this criterion is not always valid in our eyes   In §210 a, occur seven cases in which *kṛdhi* (once *kṛṣva*) exchanges with *kṛṇu* and *kuru* (once *kṛṇuṣva*).   We have taken *kṛdhi* to be aorist imperative, contrary to some authorities (e g Grassmann, *Wbch*. 334b), not deterred by sporadic back-formations (from this very *kṛdhi*) into the present: *kṛthas, kṛtha* (cf. Whitney, *Roots*, 21).   With some hesitation we have also classed as aorists the first of the following pairs: *pātam, pibatam* (notwithstanding RV. *pānti*, §210, a); *śrotā, śṛṇota* (ibidem); *manai, manīe* (§119).   Or we have shirked a final decision as to whether the first is a present or an aorist in the following pairs: *yukṣrā, yuñkṣrā* (§192): *madasīa* (probably present), *mandasīa* (ibidem)   Various cases of ambiguity spring from thematic *a:* is it present sign or subjunctive sign on the body of a non-thematic form?   Thus in *karati, karoti* (§124, end), cf. *karati, kṛṇotu* (§154), and *karah, kṛṇotu* (§104, o), in both of which last cases we classify *kara-* as aorist subjunctive.   Doubtful also is *tanate*, varying with both the present *tanute* and the aorist *taṅsate* (§117), or, again, with *tanutām* (§§116, 154, 191).

§11. In the perfectly clear expression

sa traitubhyah pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV. AV. TA. N.

'he shall hand thee over to these manes', both forms, though grammatically ambiguous, are treated as respectively subjunctive and injunctive (see §167).   They might also be regarded as imperfect indicatives, thematic and non-thematic; see §193 where occur what may be felt as the same forms, since the circumstances make it impossible to say whether the augment was felt with them or not

§12. In all these and similar cases we have often classified on what may be called the line of least resistance, on the basis of common sense and average Vedic habit; and we have not, in all cases, thought it necessary to suggest the obvious alternative   Cf. on this theme Neisser, *BB*. 7. 211 ff.

Imperatives (?) or Subjunctives in se

§13. Of exceptional interest are the two forms *stuṣe* and *kṛṣe* interchanging with *stuhi* and *kṛdhi*, listed §165.   We have inclined to regard

---

[6] Perhaps best considered optative in view of the parallels, tho in itself it might quite well be injunctive or imperative.

them as 2d person singular middle imperatives, or perhaps better sub-
junctives, corresponding to the well-established class of active modal
forms in *si*

Phonetic variants: interchange between t *and* th *in 2d plurals*

§14 A number of phonetic variations are so constant as to raise the
question whether the resulting formal differences are not in part mere
oral blunders, especially in cases where one of the verb-forms is question-
able on some other ground   The most important of these is the inter-
change between *t* and *th*, part of the broad chapter of interchanges
between unaspirated and aspirated stops, which will appear as an impor-
tant part of our volume on Phonetics   Thus the 2d plural endings *ta* and
tha interchange freely, there being rarely any connexion in which either
of them, notwithstanding their modal difference, is impossible or even
difficult, ef the other interchanges between indicative and imperative,
§116   The chronology of the texts generally decides in favor of one or
the other

tam sma jānīta (VSK *°tha*) *parame vyoman* AV VS VSK TS KS ŚB.
    MŚ   Here *jānītha*, tho perfectly sound grammar, is a secondary
    blend of *jānīta* and (subj) *jānātha* in the kindred formula *etam
    jānātha* (KS *jānīta;* TB *jānītāt*) *pa° vy°* VS KS ŚB. TB., cf
    jānīta smainam (TS MŚ *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV. TS MŚ.

§15 In the next, *kṛtha* is a dubious root present, really a back-forma-
tion from aorists such as *kṛdhi*   Yet it is certainly the original reading.
yad āmayati mṣ kṛtha (TS MS KS *kṛta*) RV. VS TS MS KS.

§16 In the following group, primary *tha*, with indicative sense, is
secondary and more or less inferior to the ending *ta* with injunctive or
imperative sense·

devebhyo bhavata (TB *°tha*) *suprāyanāh* RV AV. VS MS KS TB N
śivā no bhavata (ApŚ *°tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ
śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA *°tha,* MG. *°ntu*) *yajñiyāsah* RV. TA MG
tena krīdantīś (ŚG *krīl°*) *carata* (ŚG *°tha*) *priyena* (AV *vaśān anu*) AV
    TS ŚG PG ViDh
aśvā bhavata (AV. TS KS *°tha*) *vājinah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
    devā bhavata vā° RV.

datto asmabhyam (etc , see §250, p 165) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV KS
    AŚ SMB. *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS

§17 Wholly anomalous, not to say impossible, are the traditionally
recorded *tha* forms in the next two:

ye 'tra pitarah . *bhūyāstha* AV ŚŚ : *ya etasmin loke* . . . .
bhūyāsta TS TB   Of course a precative formation cannot, accord-
ing to decent grammar, have a primary ending, yet apparently
all mss of both AV. and ŚŚ agree on *-tha*, see Whitney on AV.
18 4 86

arālāg udabhartsata (AV mss. *°tha*) AV ŚŚ   The AV mss at 20 139 1
read thus; in an augmented form *tha* is a monstrosity   Roth's
violent emendation, *āsannā udabhir yathā*, has of course no standing.

§18 On the other hand the forms in *tha* claim precedence in the
following

payasvatīh kṛnuthāpa (TS *°tāpa*) *oṣadhīh śivāh* (TS om. *śi°*) AV. TS
ud irayathā (MS MŚ *°tā*, AV KS. *°ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV. AV
TS MS KS. AŚ MŚ
yūyam (MS *divo*) *vṛṣṭim varṣayathā* (MS *°tā*) *purīṣinah* RV TS MS.
KS

§19 Doubtful as to precedence are

aulaba (HG *°va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. *°ta*) ApMB. HG.
saputrikāyām jāgratha PG. *yajamānāya jāgṛta* ApŚ   Cf Stenzler's
note to translation of PG 1. 16 22

Phonetic variants: interchange between t and th in 2d and 3d duals

§20 About equally often the 2d and 3d dual forms interchange so as
to involve *t* and *th*, these cases will be classified in greater detail in the
section on Person, below   The decision as to priority depends on attend-
ant circumstances, notably the relative chronology of the texts.

hato (SV TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV. TB *aprati*) RV AV SV TB
Followed in RV SV by the next two

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatī*, and   *hato* (SV *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣah*
RV SV   An entire stanza is changed here from 3d person reference
to direct address, see below, §§329, 332 —As in this case, the *t* forms
are prior in

sam (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV. ApMB
The form *hathah* is absurd, though apparently very old in the Ap
tradition, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB , p xx

purā gṛdhrād araruṣah pibātah (TB *°thah*) RV MS TB

§21 But in the next two the *th* form is evidently prior, while in most
of the rest here listed there is little clear evidence supporting either one
citrebhir abhraih upa tiṣṭhatho (MS *°to*) *ravam* RV † MS   Followed by
dyām varṣayatho (MS *°to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV MS   The p p of MS
has *°thah*   See §337

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām (VSK. TS ApŚ *prornuvāthām*, MS
    MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ , cf.
    vapayā etc Kauś , and see Conc under *svarge* (*°gena, suvarge*)
    loke(-na) prornuvāthām etc (only MS. *°tām;* VS. VSK TS KSA †
    [which reads *samprornuvāthām*] ŚB TB Vait *°thām*)

yā (AV TS. *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † *°tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rak-
    ṣatah* (AV. KS † *°thah*) AV. TS MS. KS

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † *°tuh*)
    KS. TS

yā rājānā (TS. *°nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS
tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah (MŚ † *°tah*); and, in same passage.
vīram janayiṣyathah (MŚ *°tah*); and:
te mat prātah prajanayiṣyethe (MŚ *°te), te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathah*
    (MŚ *°tah*) TB ApŚ. MŚ
yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ *°yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS *°thām*) MS. KS.†
    TB. ApŚ. And, in same stanza·
divi (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS.†
    °thām), same texts   *abhūthām* is anomalous, see §§56, 337.
kāmam duhātām iha śakvarībhih AV : *rāṣṭram duhāthām iha revatībhih*
    TB   Here, tho the context in AV. requires a 3d person verb, most
    mss read *°thām* like TB (but Ppp *°tām*).

§22 For lack of a better place we append here another curious variant
between *t* and *th* in verbal endings, which concerns neither duals nor 2d
plurals

abhiramyatām (MŚ 8 20 *°thām!*) MŚ ŚG YDh BṛhPDh. So accord-
ing to Conc the mss of MŚ as recorded by Knauer, since it occurs
in the unpublished part of MŚ it is impossible to verify it, but it is
presumably a mistake in copying by either an Indian scribe or a
western scholar. The form *abhiramyatām* is, of course, 3d singular
passive imperative

Phonetic variants· interchange between a *and* u *before* v

§23 From out of the confusion of shifting vowel tradition in the
variants, to be treated in our volume on Phonetics, one phase tends to
unsettle the exact meaning of a certain group of verb changes   Namely,
in quite a number of cases *u* interchanges with *a* before *v*, so that the
resulting forms may be judged to be either phonetic or morphological, in
all probability a mixture of both   Thus, in
    abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) *girah* RV SV.
nonuvur is intensive perfect (Whitney, *Gr.* § 1018a), while *nonavur* is in-

tensive augmentless imperfect (*ibid* §1015)   The SV reading is surely secondary, and phonetic at least in part, rather than truly morphological Considerations of this sort are in order in the following list, in which the frequent interchange between stems *bhava-* and *bhuva-* strikes the eye, note particularly the persistent choice of *bhuva-* on the part of SV in the first six examples (cf contrariwise SV *nonavur* above)   The Black YV texts also show a preference for *u* as against *a*, as we shall show in the Phonetics volume.

sammislo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*)   *dhenubhih* RV SV.

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS
    Kauś

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

nemiś cakram wābhavat (SV. MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuvah*) RV SV

yad dūre sann ihābhavah (SV °*bhuvah*) RV SV MŚ N

sampriyah (TA °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB TA *bhuvat*) MŚ
    TB TA ApŚ

asapatnā (RV * °*nah*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV. (bis) ApMB

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV

tasmai devā adhi bruvan (VS TS *bravan*) VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS *bruvat*) RV AV. KS ˙

pra bravāma (MS *bruvāma*, v 1 *bra°*) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TA. ApMB
    HG MG

tad aham nihnave (ŚŚ *nihnuve*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ

upa śravat (MS *śruvat*, p p *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV MS

An interchange like   *tam ahve* (SV *u huve* = *u hve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV , may be suspected of being a similar phonetic variant across the faint pronunciation of *h*

Phonetic variants· loss of t (d) *as first of a group of three consonants*

§24   In a small group attention is arrested by the interchange between *āt* (*ād*) and *ā* before two consonants, in connexion with which the *t* (*d*) makes three consonants   There are three such cases each before *d* and before *s*

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *draviṇam vīrapeśāh* RV TS P p of TS *dāh*, this form
    occurs several times in the context, and no doubt flitted thru the
    mind of the compiler   But a 2d person form is most bizarre, since
    a nominative subject (*agnir*) immediately precedes, despite Keith's
    attempt to explain it (TS 162, n 4), we believe the variant is
    essentially phonetic.   Cf the next

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS. *tiṣṭhād*) *dravuṇcha dhattāt* RV MS KS. AB TB.
N. P p of RV. *tiṣṭhāh*: 'bestow upon us wealth here when thou
standest erect.' All texts have as next pāda, *yad vā kṣaṇo mātur
asyā upasthe*, showing up the extreme reprehensiblenss of the KS
reading. Cf. prec., of which this is the reverse

āprā (AV *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antariksam* RV. AV ArS. VS TS. MS.
KS ŚB TB. AA. TA.
    Here both forms are 3d person; AV has the later form *āprād* for *āprās.*
tān ādityān anu madā (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS P p. of MS
mada; madāt may be a mere corruption, see §315.

bodhā stotre (MS. *bodhāt stomair*) *vayo dadhat* (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV.
SV. MS ApŚ. In MS part of a different stanza; but a v. 1 *bodhā*
is recorded.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG.
(corrupt; see §153); cf. *adho vadādharo vada* HG.

*Phonetic variants; presence or absence of visarga at the end of words,
mostly at the end of pādas*

§25. In a number of cases verbal variations depend entirely or in part
upon the presence or absence of *visarga* (*h*), especially at the end of a
pāda. As the sound was pronounced faintly (not, as in modern Hindu
pronunciation, as *h* followed by a vowel), it is quite possible that some
of these interchanges are purely phonetic, it would doubtless be going
too far to say that they all are   Thus (§158, end) TS 3 5 10 1 has the
anomalous *yodhi* for *yodhih* of other texts at the end of a stanza (Whit-
ney, *Gr.* §839), if this is the only occurrence of *yodhi*, we might cancel it
from our grammars and lexicons   Cf Keith's note, *HOS* 28 286, n 1.
The total of such correspondences is not small, those which concern
verb forms are supported by others, cf. *pibāt somam mamadad* (AŚ ŚŚ
somam amadann) *enam iṣte* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*), AV. AŚ ŚŚ , §137, where
it occurs in noun forms.

pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*, but Poona ed *tira*) AV VS TS MS.
    KS TA AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ   See §156 for this and the next three.
sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ *tapah*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ
ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*) AV ŚŚ
viśvasmāt (TA *divo ni°*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA *uruṣyah*) RV. TA
tāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB.· *emām anu sarpata* MS   See §116
agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB *°mah*) RV TB   See §124, where
    also, but in the interior of the passage, *dhvarāma: dhūrvāmas*, in
    the item *tam dhūrva* etc.

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra°*) *saścıma* (TA *°mah*, RV *saścıre*) RV VS
    MS ŚB TA (corrupt.) For thıs and the next four ıtems see
    §262, c
pratı bhāgam na dīdhıma (SV *°mah*) RV AV SV VS N
vıratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG.
abhıratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BṛhPDh
tasmın vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ
tau saha (VS ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS
    ŚB. *°yāva*, MS *°yāvah*) VS TS. MS KSA ŚB ApŚ
vıśvāh pınvathah (TB. *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm.
    Bıbl Ind ed. *°thah*, but Poona ed *°tha*). Vacıllatıon of sandhı
    before *s* + cons., one ms. of MS *°tha*

Phonetıc varıants ınterchange between e and aı

§26 Especıally at the end of pādas, but also elsewhere, *e* and *aı* fre-
quently ınterchange   Thıs, as regards the verb, concerns for the most
part ınterchange between the (ındıcatıve or subjunctıve) endıngs *mahe,*
vahe, and the subjunctıve *mahaı, vahaı*; see §§118, 124, 253   To ıllus-
trate the same phonetıc change outsıde of the verb, we may quote one
of many changes between the pronouns *asme* and *asmaı*
supıppalā oṣadhāh kartanāsme (AV *kartam asmaı*; VSK *kartam asme*)
    AV. VS VSK MS
In the ıtem *brahmāham antaraı kṛnve* (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ , the Conc
suggests the more proper *karavaı* for KŚ.
vı sakhyānı sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. *°mahaı*, MŚ *vısṛjāvahaı*) AŚ. ŚŚ Vaıt ApŚ.
    MŚ PG.
yam jīvam aśnavāmahaı (MS *°he*) RV AV VS TS MS KS
devān yajñıyān ıha yān yajāmahaı (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS
rayım yena vanāmahaı (SV *°he*) RV SV
kva tyānı nau sakhyā babhūvuh, sacāvahe (MS *°haı*, p p *°he*) *yad avṛkam*
    purā cıt RV MS
The same ınterchange occurs between *te* and *taı* as subjunctıve end-
ıngs; all the cases whıch occur are grouped ın §253

Phonetıc ınterchanges concernıng y ın combınatıon wıth other consonants

§27 For thıs theme as a whole see Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 418 ff , and
the approprıate sectıon of our volume on Phonetıcs   The Concoıdance
presents the ıtem
bhakṣa āgatah TS · *bhakṣah pītah* VSK   *bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah* (KS.
    bhakṣa°) VS KS   So the sıngle ms of KS (at that tıme unedıted)

reads, but the now printed text quite properly emends to *bhaksya-mānah*, matching VS. Similarly,

(*net tvā*) *dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan pariñkh-ayātai*) RV. AV.: *net tvā* *dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TS 'Lest the bold one embrace thee (shake thee about) intending to burn thee', or the like. Many mss. of AV. read *vidhakṣyan*, which should be adopted Cf. Whitney on AV 18. 2 58.

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA *°yakṣyase*; ŚŚ. *°yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ. The aorist *yakṣase* may = the future *yakṣyase*; and *yachase* is certainly a phonetic corruption for *yakṣ(y)ase*

On the other hand, the fuller *kṣy* is secondary in the following:

ā te yatante rathyo yathā pṛthak, śardhānsy agne ajarāni (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. *dhakṣatah* is aorist participle, gen sing , *dhakṣyase*, 'thou shalt be kindled', connected asyndetically with *yatante*, is obviously secondary In fact, Caland on ApŚ 3 15. 5 takes it as a mere corruption of the other reading

§28 Similarly the group *ścy* is reduced, secondarily.

ā vṛścyantām (AV. *vṛścantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV. AV. See §87.

In one instance *ṣy* is secondarily reduced to *ṣ* ·

ratho na vājam saniṣyann (SV *saniṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV. 'He hath come like a chariot about to win (that hath won) booty.' *saniṣyan* is a common form, *saniṣan* an aorist participle made for the occasion. Cf. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 281, and our §234, c.

In a remarkably persistent way the mss read *arātsyam*, improper conditional, for *arātsam*, proper prophetic aorist, in the set formula ·

tenārātsyam (ŚŚ MŚ GG. v. 1 *°rātsam*) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ GG', cf. *tan me 'rādhi* (Kauś *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA Kauś.

CHAPTER II   THE VOICES

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ACTIVE AND MIDDLE AND PASSIVE

§29. The number of these interchanges is large   They naturally fall into four rubrics   First, a not very large group of interchanges between active and middle, in which the middle has middle or passive value, and the active has transitive value, so that the two are definitely distinguished

Second, a very much larger group, involving many roots of the language, in which the interchange between active and middle is without clearly perceptible difference, this is a part of the break-down of the distinction between the two voices which is noticeable from the earliest times   Our variants are grouped in two subdivisions, according as we find the interchange two or more times from a single root, or only once

Third, interchange between active and passive constructions, as part of a growing movement towards passive forms of expression, which becomes far more pronounced in later Sanskrit

Fourth, interchanges between middle and passive, a small group in which the middle has passive meaning and is therefore equivalent to the passive form

1 Transfusions between active and middle psychology, or interchanges between active and middle in their true and original meanings

§30. The primary distinction between active and middle as vehicles of transitive and reflexive (or more broadly, sphere-of-the-subject) function, well named by the Hindu grammarians *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, comes to the fore in not a few passages which alternate active and middle forms with more or less material and clear change of meaning, and, we may add, by no means always so that the active passage may be transfused directly into the middle passage   These cases are parallel or analogous to the similar list of variant active and passive constructions, treated below   They are, moreover, flanked by a few others which offer occasion for a quasi-variant use of active and middle, tho they are not true variants of one another, but merely passages derived from similar spheres of conception in which active and

middle each are properly differentiated in accordance with the total sense of the passage.

apriyaḥ prati muñcatām AV. 'let the enemy fasten on himself', *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś.† *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś 'fasten thou (ye two) that on the enemy.'

niṣkam iva prati muñcata (and, °*tām*) AV. (both). In different verses: 'fasten ye on (others) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc.

ya īm vahanta āśubhih RV. 'who travel (transport themselves) with swift horses': *yadī vahanty āśavah* SV. 'if swift horses transport (him).' Cf. §67, where the two voices of *vah* are found without difference of meaning

yad vo 'śuddhāḥ (VSK. °*aḥ*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS VSK ŚB 'whatever of yours the impure have (has) polluted, that do I here cleanse for you', *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad va etena śundhantām* KS 'whatsoever the impure has polluted, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (become pure)', or, perhaps, 'let them (indefinite) purify that for you thru this'; cf. below, §71, to which the KS version belongs if *śundhantām* has active meaning: *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS 'what of yours an impure one has handled, do ye purify that for yourselves (or, do ye become pure as to that).'

yat te krūram...tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat va etena śundhatām;* MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. See prec , and cf. §§71, 82, 338 end.

sa viśvā prati cāklpe AV. 'he hath shaped himself into all things'; *sa viśvam prati cāklpat* AŚ. ŚŚ. 'he hath shaped (or, shall shape) the universe.'

ito mukṣīya māmutah (ApŚ *mā pateḥ*) VS. ŚB ApŚ · *preto muñcāmi* (AG. ŚG. SMB. MG *muñcātu*, PG.† *muñcatu*, ApMB. *muñcāti*) *nāmutah* (ŚG. MG. SMB.† *māmutah*, PG. *mā pateh*) RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB MG.: cf. *mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt* (MŚ. *mā patyuh*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. TB. TAA. Vait. LŚ MŚ. N. See §§104a, 312

The liturgical series, *vācam* (etc) *te śundhāmi*, VS 6. 14, 'I purify thy voice' etc., is paralleled by a corresponding list showing true reflexive value, *mukham śundhasva* etc Kauś 44. 19, 'purify thy mouth' etc.

āpo devīh śundhata mā...devayajyāyai MS · *daivyāya karmane śundhadhvam devayajyāyai* VS ŚB : *śundhadhvam daivyāya karmaṇe* (TS TB. add *devayajyāyai*) TS. MS. TB ApŚ

yad ahnāt (also, *rātrɪyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA   *yad ahnā* (and, *rātryā*)
   pāpam akārṣam TA MahānU   'What evil is done (I have done)
   by day (night) '   *kurute* has passive force

agne dakṣaɪh punīhɪ nah (TB *mā*, MS *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB   'Purify
   us', '(may) we become pure ' And similarly

brahma tena punīhɪ nah (LŚ. *mā*, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punī-
   mahe*) RV VS KS MS. TB LŚ   *ɪdam brahma punīmahe* TB

evam tam (ApMB *tvam*) *garbham ā dhehɪ* (ApMB. *dhatsva*) RVKh
   ApMB MG. 'Thus set thou the embryo (in her)'. 'thus set thou
   (addressing the woman) the embryo in thyself (receive the embryo) '
   See §302

madhu karɪṣyāmɪ madhu janayɪṣyāmɪ   JB.: *madhu janɪṣye* (AV.
   °*sīya*) AV TS. TA ŚŚ 'I shall produce honey (for myself) '

ud dharṣantām maghavan vājɪnām AV . *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV.
   satvanām) *āyudhānɪ* RV AV SV VS. TS 'Let strengths be
   aroused, O generous one[1]' or, 'arouse the weapons, O generous
   one (or, the weapons of the warriors) '

tṛtīye nāke adhɪ vɪ śrayasva (and, *śrayaɪnam*) AV. (both)   'Spread thou
   (him) out upon the third heaven '

samnahye (KS °*hya*, 2d sing act) *sukṛtāya kam* TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ
   ApMB *samnahyasvāmṛtāya kam* AV. Only KS has a transitive
   verb, 'gird on' (the things mentioned in the preceding pādas)
   For the others ('I gird myself', 'gird thyself'), see §308 end

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ The subject in
   ŚB is a king, the active form goes with the causative. 'he caused
   a sacrificial horse to be bound', i e caused the *aśvamedha* to be
   performed In ŚŚ the subject is the priests: 'they bound a
   sacrificial horse'

§31. We group separately such interchanges of voice in *Partɪcɪples,*
since they constitute, to some extent certainly, a special problem.
Renou has shown (*Valeur du parfaɪt* 121–38) that voice in the participles
frequently seems not to run parallel to that in finite forms

parāsutṛpah śośucatah śṛnīhɪ AV 'destroy the fiercely burning (demons)
   that delight in (taking) life', *parāsutṛpo abhɪ śośucānah* (sc *śṛnīhɪ*)
   RV ' destroy (the demons) that delight in (taking) life, burning
   fiercely against them ' Cf Renou 128

vɪśvasmād ɪṣatah (MS *ɪṣamānah*) *parɪdhɪh* TS MS KS 'the fence
   from every attacker', the MS reading (somewhat uncertain, see
   editor's note, 1 1 12: 7. 10) seems to mean 'fleeing from every
   attack '

jajñānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaih* RV. SV.   In RV. *jajñānah*
is absolute, 'when born'; in SV *janayan* lamely governs *sūryam.*
The interchange is of the loosest kind

§32. In one case active and middle are used in precisely the reverse
of the function to be expected

tasmai tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB 'do thou, O breast, swell for him';
tasmai stanam pra pyāyasva HG. 'do thou swell out thy breast for
him ' [But the middle seems justified, as referring to *'thy'*
breast —G M.B., approved by F. E]

§33. There are also, as noted above, a few formulas, related in con-
text, but not strictly variants of one another, which contrast the two
voices according to the same standards, the middle being reflexive or
at least intransitive, the active being transitive

divo mātrayā varinā (VS ŚB *varimnā*) *prathasra* VS TS MS KS ŚB.:
r̥ṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā (VS *varimnā*)
prathantu VS. MS KS 'with the measure of heaven extend thyself
in breadth', 'the sages of yore   shall extend thee in breadth.'

dr̥nha pr̥thivīm PB , and *pr̥thivīm dr̥nha* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB JB MG.
'make firm the earth' *dr̥nhasva pr̥thivyām* VS KS ŚB. 'be firm
upon earth '

iṣe pinvasva, ūrje pinvasva VS ŚB.: *iṣam pinva, ūrjam pinva* MG

vācam me tvayi dadhāni, (response,) *vācam te mayi dadhe* KBU. And
the same with many other nouns besides *vāc,* in a long litany.
The father says. 'Let me place my speech (etc.) in thee '   The
son replies 'I take thy speech (etc) in myself '

*2. Interchange between active and middle in the same verb as part of the
break-down of this distinction from earliest times*

§34. In the preceding cases the varying use of the voices depends, as
a rule, on change of construction, or some imaginable difference of
attitude towards the same passage. But the bulk of the interchanges
between active and middle of the same root are in passages of identical
construction, devoid of any appreciable difference, if there is a difference
in meaning between the *voices,* it is certainly of the most tenuous kind,
and while we would not rigorously deny such possibilities here and there,
there seems no doubt that by and large they are signs of the almost
complete practical erasure of this distinction towards which the language
tends from the very beginning, from the RV on [7]

[7] Renou, *passim,* shows that a verbal system is frequently made up with one
tense of one voice and another tense of another, there being no difference of

§35. In his admirable *Wörterbuch*, Grassmann says (column 1070) under *yaj*, 'Das Medium fügt uberall die bekannte reflexive Bedeutung hinzu' BR s v. cite the scholiast to Pān 1 3 72, Vop. 23 58 to the effect that the active of *yaj* is used of the priest, the middle of the sacrificing householder (*yajanti yājakāh, yajamāno yajate*)   However, both BR and Delbrück[2] recognize that this distinction is not absolute The *yaj* variants, below, show at any rate that it is not adhered to very closely in Vedic tradition.   The twin of *yajati*, namely *juhoti*, which might be expected to be on all fours with *yajati*, shows scarcely, if ever, any such distinction, being generally active   This may be due to the fact that *juhoti* is conceived as the function of the *hotar*   The root *hū* 'call', produces only middle forms in the RV. when the present stem is *hava-*, whereas the other stems show both actives and middles   This is not the place to go into an elaborate investigation of the reason why *hava-* has no actives, the variants, at any rate, show in almost every instance active forms of the other stems interchanging with middle forms of *hava-*.   In general, our variants are loftily on the other side of right and wrong; the total of this evanescent distinction has broken down, almost every root showing actives in interchange with middles

§36. Occasionally attendant circumstances show which of the two voices is prior in a given variant   In one case AV gives us two forms of what is essentially the same pāda: *vise visam apṛkthāh* 7. 88 1,   . *aprāg api* 10. 4 26b · 'in poison thou hast (he has) mixed poison'   Here, in the first place, metrical considerations come in; 7 88 1 is prose, and the formula is made metrical in 10. 4 26 by the addition of the 'patch-word' *api*   Aside from the question of meter, when a longer form of one voice is replaced by a shorter one of the other voice, which is then padded out by a patch-word, usually a pronoun or adverb, this latter form of the pāda invariably impresses one as secondary   Other cases are·

---

meaning represented in the voice distinction   Even in essentially the same pāda, active and middle may be equivalent as early as RV   *ajasrena śociṣā śośucac chuce* 6 48 3, *ajasreṇa śociṣā śośucānah* 7 5 4   The needs respectively of *jagati* and *triṣṭubh* are deferred to, see *RVRep* 294, 531   Cf Renou 121ff (participles and voice)

[2] *AISyntax* 248, so also Renou 106, 110   Delbruck 241, observes that *ci* 'pile' (bricks of the altar) exhibits regularly the same distinction, the middle being used of the sacrificer, the active of the priest

[3] [In a charm against poison, especially that of snakes, there may be in the middle a suggestion of 'for thyself', the poison being magically directed back against its emitter   F E]

syonam patye (AV. *patıbhyo*) *vahatum krnusva* (AV. *krnu tvam*) RV AV.
SMB. ApMB MG N

marutām pıtas tad aham gṛnāmi (MS *gṛne te*) TS MS : *marutām pitar
uta tad gṛnīmah* KS

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hı*) TS MŚ

nı no rayım subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV͵ VS TS MS KS

sa no mayobhūh pıto āvıśasva (ŚG PG SMB. [Jorgensen] *pıtav āvıśasva*,
AŚ *pıtav āvıśeha*) TS TB AŚ ŚG SMB PG See §69.

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāmı*) *śakram puruhūtam ındram*
RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU

tam manyeta (VıDh *vaı manyet*) *pıtaram mātaram ca* SamhıtopanısadB
VāDh VıDh

Asıde from such cases there are occasıonally other ındıcatıons as to
prıorıty whıch have been noted whenever they seemed suffıcıently
certaın and not too obvıous

§37. We have arranged the ınterchanges between actıve and mıddle
ın two lısts In the fırst a gıven root ınterchanges twıce or oftener;
ın the second only once. We have wıshed ın thıs way to separate the
verbs that are more habıtually free ın theır choıce of voıce from those ın
whıch the ınterchange may be suspected of beıng eıther accıdental or
solecıstıc. Delbruck, *AISyntax* 228ff , has collected consıderable
materıal for the use of the voıces ın Brāhmana prose We have added
ın parentheses (D) the pages on whıch he comments on a large number
of our roots

§38. The followıng ıs an alphabetıc lıst of all the roots whıch so ınter-
change; those whıch are not treated by Delbrück—a rather large
number—are dıstınguıshed by ıtalıcs The two denomınatıves *rājaya*
'demean oneself as kıng', and *sukratūya* 'have superıor wısdom', are not
lısted.

aś 'obtaın'
arṣ 'move'
as 'throw'
ās 'sıt'
ı+adhı 'read'
ı+palā 'flee'
īr 'arouse'
edh 'prosper'
kar 'make'
kar 'praıse'

kalp (caus) 'shape'
gam 'go'
gar 'praıse'
gup 'protect'
gaı 'sıng'
grabh 'seıze'
ghuṣ 'sound'
cat (caus) 'drıve off'
cı 'observe'
jan 'beget'

jɪ 'conquer'
juṣ 'enjoy'
tan 'extend'
tar 'cross'
dah 'burn'
dā 'give'
dī 'shine'
dī 'fly'
dīkṣ 'consecrate'
dyut 'shine'
dharṣ+ā 'dare'
dhā 'set'
dhāraya 'hold'
nam 'bend'
naś 'perish'
naś 'obtain'
nī 'lead'
nud 'expel'
pac 'cook'
parc 'mix'
pū 'purify'
bandh 'bind'
bhaj 'share'
bhar 'bear'
bhū 'be'
bhrāj 'shine'
majj 'dive'
mad 'revel'
man 'think'
muc 'release'
yaj 'revere'
yam 'hold'
yu 'unite' and 'separate'
rakṣ 'protect'
ram 'rest'
ram, rā 'give'
ruh 'grow'
rej 'tremble'

lubh 'desire'
vakṣ 'grow'
vac 'speak'
vad 'speak'
vadh 'slay'
van 'win'
vap 'throw'
vāraya 'ward off'
vart 'turn'
vardh 'grow'
vah 'carry'
valh 'ask a riddle'
vid 'obtain' and 'perceive'
viś 'enter'
vyā 'envelop'
śikṣ 'help'
śrɪ 'set up'
śudh 'purify'
sac 'follow'
sad 'sit'
san 'be effective'
sar (caus) 'move'
sarj 'loosen'
sah 'be able'
sev+nɪ 'be devoted to'
stan 'thunder'
stu 'praise'
sthā 'stand'
sthāpaya 'place'
snāpaya 'cause to bathe'
svad 'taste'
svap 'sleep'
han 'slay'
hā 'leave'
hɪ 'incite'
hu 'sacrifice'
hū 'call'

Interchanges between active and middle which occur twice or oftener

§39. *aś* 'obtain' (D. 229)

viśvam āyur vy aśnavai (AV °*vam*) AV VS. MS. KS TB. The AV mss (19 55 6) read *aśnaval*, which Whitney (Transl) emends to *aśnavan* Cf. the parallels with active, *viśvam āyur vy aśnutah* and *aśnuvat*, and on the other hand with middle, *dīrgham āyur*. and *sarvam āyur* in Conc See §140

viśvam id dhītam (MS *dhitam*) *ānaśuh* (SV. *āśala*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ

yena śravānsy ānaśuḥ (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

vy aśema (SV VS *aśemahi*) *devahitam yad āyuh* RV SV VS VSK MS KS TA ApŚ NrpU. NruU MG The active is usual with prepositions, and *vy aśema* obviously prior to °*mahi*; Delbrück, l c. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 278

tenāmṛtatvam aśyām (KS PB *aśiya*) KS PB. TB. TA. ApŚ · *so 'mṛtatvam aśīya* (VSK *aśyāt*) VS. VSK. MS ŚB. ŚŚ.: *tayāmṛtatvam* (and, *tair amṛ*°) *aśīya* PB

talo mā dravinam aṣtu (AB *āṣta*) VS. AB. ṢB ŚŚ. See §130.

§40. *īr* 'arouse'

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdham (ŚŚ. erroneously *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ *airayant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayacva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ om) ŚB TA. ŚŚ. KŚ See §248, end.

svayā tanvā tanvam airayat AV.. *svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata* MS. AA AŚ ŚŚ *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA.. *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ. But *airayata* is the reading of most mss also in AV. 7. 3. 1; see Whitney.

aghāyūnām ud īrate (AŚ °*ti*) AV PB AŚ We put little faith in the Bibl Ind edition of AŚ

tām nah pūṣañ chivatamām erayasva HG.: *tām pūṣañ* (AV. °*an*) *chivatamām erayasva* RV. AV. ApMB : *sā nah pūṣā śivatamām eraya* PG.

§41. *kar* 'make' (D. 238)

ugram cettāram adhirājam akran (AV. *akrata*) RV. AV. VS TS KS. *akrata* collides with the *triṣṭubh* meter of the stanza as a whole, and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 37. 264) reads *akran*

dyumantam ghoṣam vijayāya kṛnmahe (AV. *kṛnmasi*) RV. AV.

agnau kariṣye karavai karavāni (with reply: *kriyatām kuruṣva kuru*) AG *agnau karanam kariṣyāmi* MŚ *agnau kariṣyāmi* GG BDh · *agnau karavāni* ViDh Cf Stenzler's note on AG 4 7 18, Transl.

syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu tvam*) RV. AV SMB ApMB MG N Besides the patch-word (cf §36),

AV is marked as secondary by dissyllabic *syonam* (the others, archaically, *sionam*)

kuru AG GG ViDh   *kuruṣva* AG YDh AuśDh BrhPDh
kuruta MS MŚ LŚ ŚG Kauś GG KhG PG HG   *om kuruta* ŚŚ AG MG   *kurudhvam* PG.

kṛṣim suśasyām ut kṛṣe (KS *kṛdhi*) MS KS MŚ   See §165

yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase ŚŚ   *yajñapataye vāryam ā sras kah* MS   *yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai* TA.

Participles (cf §31)

punah kṛnvānā (KS *kṛnvantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS KS ŚB   *punah kṛnvantah pitaro yuvānah* MS.   *punah kṛnvans tvā pitaram yuvānam* TS

§41a *gam* 'go'

juṣṭe juṣṭim te gameyam (ŚŚ °*ya*, TS '*śīya*) TS KS ŚŚ LŚ

nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam AV   *nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam* TB

§42. *gup* 'protect'

tad gopāyata (KŚ °*yadhvam*) KŚ ApŚ

tan me gopāya (Kauś °*yasva*) MS. KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś

tam gopāya (KS ŚG °*yasva*) KS AG. ŚG ApMB   *tām gopāyasva* TA

asvapnaś ca mānavadrānaś cottarato gopāyetām (KS MG *ca dakṣiṇato gopāyatām*) KS PG MG   *asvapnaś ca tvānavadrānaś ca rakṣatām* AV   See also Conc under *gopāyanś ca*, *jāgṛnś ca*, *dīdinś ca*, and *gopāyamānam*   *gopāyatām* is 3d dual impv act, rather than 3d sing impv mid

§43. *grah* (*grabh*) 'seize' (D 240)

tam ātman (MS KS *ātmani*) *pari gṛhnīmahe vayam* (MS *gṛhnīmasīha*) TS MS KS

(*asyed indro madeṣv ā*) *grābham gṛbhnīta* (SV *gṛbhnāti*) *sānasim* RV SV

§44. *jan* 'beget'

surayā (MS KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanta* (KS † TB °*ti*) *retah* VS.† MS KS TB

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS TB °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ

dyāvāpṛthivyor aham devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS * *devayajyayā prajaniṣeyam prajayā paśubhih*, KS * MŚ *devayajyayā prajaniṣīya prajayā paśubhih*) KS (bis) ApŚ MŚ   See §175

§45. *juṣ* 'enjoy' (D 229)

sa no nediṣtham (TS MS °*thā*, VS ŚB *viśvāni*) *havanāni joṣat* (TS *joṣate*, MS *havanā jujoṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB   On perfect active and present middle cf Renou 14, 144ff

†*riprā* (SV. *riprāya*) *gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣatı* (AA, °*ṣat*, SV. *yam jujoṣate*) SV AA ŚŚ

§46. *tan* 'extend' (D. 242)

bṛhaspatir yajñam ımam tanotu VS ŚB. LŚ : *bṛhaspatıs tanutām ımam naḥ* TS. TB.

yā akṛntann arayan yā atanrata (AV *yāś ca tatnıre*) AV SMB. PG ApMB. HG : *yā akṛntan yā atanran* MG.—MG ıs obviously secondary, and may perhaps be a case of purely external form-assimilation *atanran* for *atanrata* to match *akṛntan*

yunakta sīrā rı yugā tanudhram (AV TS MS. KS *tanota*) RV AV. VS TS. MS. KS ŚB

§47. *tar* 'cross'

pra candramās tirate (TS † °*tı*; AV.† °*mas tırase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV. AV TS. MS KS N.

†*surīrābhıs tirate rājabharmabhıh* (SV. TS. *taratı vājakarmabhıh*) RV. SV. TS. KS. See §197.

§48. *dā* 'give' (D. 242)

ısam ūrjam aham ıta ādam (TS ApŚ *ādade;* MS KS MŚ *ādı*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ MŚ VS comm understands *ādam* as from *ad* 'eat', but the accent shows that ıt ıs from *ā + dā* 'take'. The active of *ā + dā* is rare or anomalous; cf. Delbrück.

na me tad (ApŚ. *ma ıdaṁ*) *upadambhışar dhṛṣır* (ApŚ °*bhıṣag ṛṣır* [once, erroneously, *udambhı*°]) *brahmā yad dadau* (ApŚ *dade*) MS ApŚ

§49. *dī* 'shine' (only in participles; cf. §31)

ajasrena bhānunā dīdyatam (TS *dīdyānam*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

rıśrā āśā dīdyāno (MS. KS. *dīdyad*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TB The meter favors *dīdyāno*.

§49a. *dhā* 'set' (D. 243; cf. also Grassmann s.v.)

aṅgırasām trā devānām (ApŚ *devānāṁ vratapate;* Kauś *devānām ādıtyānām*) *vratenā dadhe* (ApŚ *dadhāmı*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ. Kauś · *bhṛgūṇāṁ trāṅgırasām* (ApŚ *trā devānām*) *vratenā dadhāmı* TB ApŚ. And similarly under *ādıtyānāṁ trā devānām, ındrasya trā* etc., *manos trā* etc , see Conc.

asmin rāṣtra ındrıyam dadhāmi AB *asmin rāṣtre śrıyam dadhe* SMB

parīdaṁ rāso adhıthāh (HG. *adhıdhāh,* ApMB. *adhı dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG. ApMB The readıngs of HG ApMB are obvıously ınferıor; the sense requires a middle ('thou hast put thıs garment round thyself unto well-being').

ni me dhehi nı te dadhe (VSK *dadhau*) VS. VSK. TS MS KS ŚB. AŚ The mıddle is here proper, VSK. assımılates the voıce to that of *dhehi*.

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kaus   *annādam annādyāyādadhe* (KS
   annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe) TS KS · *annādam agnim anna-*
   patyāyādadhe MS · *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ · *agnim*
   annādam unnādyāyādadhe VS
garbham dadhāthām te vām aham dade TB. ApŚ   *reto dhattam puṣtyai*
   prajananam MŚ
pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhā (MS p p *dadhe,* TS *dadhāv*) *idam yat* (MS
   om *yat*) TS MS KS. Uncertain, because KS must, and MS
   may (contrary to its p p), intend *dadhau,* like TS
vāl tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °*dhe*)   KS ApŚ   Cf §139
   §50. *nam* 'bend'
sam ākūtīr namāmasi (MS *anansata,* 3 pl mid) RVKh AV MS
tasmai viśah svayam evā namante (TB °*ti*) RV TB AB
sam bāhubhyām dhamati (AV *bharati,* TS TA. *namati,* KS *namate,*
   MS °*bhyām adhamat*) *sam patatraih* (KS *yajatraih*) RV AV VS
   TS MS KS TA MahānU SvetU
   §51. *nī* 'lead' (D 244)
agnis te 'gram nayatu TS   *agniṣ te agram nayatām* MŚ
samudrasya tvākṣityā un nayāmi VS ŚB   *samudrasya vo 'kṣityā un*
   naye TS MS KS. ApŚ. MS   The VS ŚB reading simulates
   triṣṭubh meter, the passage is really prose
devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām upa
   nayāmy asau (HG. *naye 'sau*) ŚG HG   And others, see Conc.
iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG
   §52. *nud* 'expel' (D 244)
nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS
agniṣ ṭān asmāt pra ṇunottu lokāt MŚ · *agniṣ tān* (VS *tān,* AŚ *tāl*)
   lokāt pra nudāty (AŚ *nudātv,* SMB. *nudatv*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ
   ApŚ SMB . *agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ
   §53. *pac* 'cook' (D 245)
ity apacah TB ApŚ . *ity apacathāh* MŚ
varūtrayo janayas tvā   pacantūkhe TS   *varūtrī* (and, *varu*°) *tvā* ..
   pacatām ukhe MS   *janayas tvā   pacantūkhe* VS MS KS ŚB
   §54. *bandh* 'bind' (D 245)
mitras tvā padi badhnātu (VS ŚB *badhnītām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
   ApŚ
yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *māba*°, TS ApMB* *yam abadhnīta*) *savitā suśevah*
   (AV °*vāh,* TS ApMB * *suketah*) RV. AV TS ApMB (bis)
   KŚ.
aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ   on this see §30,
   end

§55. *bhar* 'bear' (D 230)

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (MŚ °*retām*, 3 du impv mid.) TB
    ApŚ MŚ. (In TB. ApŚ *sambhara—etam*)

(*ud u tvā viśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS also *bharanta*) *cittibhiḥ* VS. TS.
    MS. KS ŚB. See §156

§56. *bhū* 'be, become'

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS °*thōm*) MS KS.
    TB ApŚ—MS. (2 du mid) is probably only an error for 3 du.
    act °*tām*, mechanically influenced by the parallel form *ārabhethām*;
    see §§337 and 21.

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta tvam mahyam pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG.
    °*tah*) *svadhā bhava* (HG *bhavatām*) ApMB. HG   And the same
    with *yathā vāyur   , yathādityo*   See §329

§57. *bhrāj* 'shine'

sa yathā tvam bhrājatā bhrājo 'sy evāham bhrājatā bhrājyyūsam AV : *sa
    yathā tvam bhrājyā bhrājasa evam aham bhrājyā bhrājiṣīya* MS

mahi bhrājante (TS MS. KS °*ty*) *arcayo vibhāvaso* RV. SV. VS TS.
    MS KS ŚB   On the evidence of RV. (see Grassmann) the middle
    present is prior to the active.   See also Whitney, *Roots* s.v., and
    Oldenberg, *Proleg* 309

§58. *mad* 'revel'

hotā yakṣad aśvinau   somānām pibatu madantām vyantu MS.:. .
    vyantu pibantu madantu (form-assimilation) AŚ.   The KS parallel
    lacks any form of *mad*

pibantu madantu (MS °*tām*) *vyantu* (TB. *viyantu somam*) VS MS TB.
    Cf   prec

yatrā (TA *yatra*) *suhārdaḥ sukṛto madanti* (TA. °*te*) AV. TA.

§59. *muc* 'release' (D. 247)

yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (TA *mumoca*) MS TA. *amoci* must be
    interpreted as 3d person middle, not passive.

Participles (cf. §31)·

pramuñcamānā (AV °*canto*) *bhuvanasya retaḥ* AV TS KS. ApŚ.
    MŚ

§60. *yaj* 'revere' (D 248), see §35 above

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS TS TB '*yāt*) VS TS. KS ŚB.
    TB , *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS KS   See §266.

agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ . *ava devānām yaja
    hedo agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāni;* MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ   Cf.
    ava devān yaje hedyān TB ApŚ

sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś   *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS†. TB TAA ApŚ.

asau yaja AŚ.   *asau yajate* LŚ

mahyam yajantu (AV KS °*ntām*) *mama yāni havyā* (AV KS *yānīṣṭā*)
RV AV TS KS

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*) TS MŚ   See §36

yasmād yoner udāriṭhā (KS °*tha*) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV VS
TS MS KS. ŚB

§61. *yam* 'hold' (D 248)

yachantām pañca VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ · *yachantu pañca* MS . *yachantu
tvā pañca* KS

gharmasyaikā savitaikām ni yachati (MS KS °*te*, PG °*tu*) TS MS KS
PG

§62. *yu* 'separate' and 'unite' (D 249)

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ MŚ HG · *mā vo*
(AŚ *no*) '*to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata* (AŚ *yuṅgdhvam*) AŚ Kauś

ni no rayim subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV VS TS MS KS.   Cf.
Delbrück, *l c* , and §36 above

§63. *rakṣ* 'protect' (D 250)

agne havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB *rakṣa*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB
MŚ

viṣṇo havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB *rakṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
MŚ.

vratam rakṣanti viśvahā AV   *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV   The AV
reading is in every way secondary, cf the formulas *vratā rakṣante*
in Conc.

§64. *vad* 'speak' (D 252)

achāvāka vadasva (MŚ. *vada*) AŚ ŚŚ MŚ   *achāvāka vadasva yat te
vādyam* AB KB ŚB KŚ ApŚ

avapatantīr avadan RV VS TS MS KS   *avayatīh sam avadanta* VSK
pippalyah samavadanta AV   Here the preposition *sam* is, of
course, concerned in the use of the middle, which might perhaps
better be placed in §30

satyam vadiṣyāmi (TA * *vadiṣye*) TA (bis) TU ŚG MG

§65. *var* (caus *vāraya*) 'hold in, hold off' (D 230)

antar evoṣmānam vārayadhvāt (MS TB *vārayatāt*, but most mss and
p p of MS °*dhvāt*) MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ

varano vārayātai AV   *varano vārayiṣyate* AV   *varuno* (Poona ed
_ *varano*) *vārayāt* TA   See §171

§66. *vart* 'turn' (D 235)

ime jīvā vi mṛtair āvavṛtran (TA *āvavartin*[1]) RV AV TA AG   The
monstrous form is found in both edd of TA , text and comm ,

comm. glosses by *āvṛttāh*. It can only be felt as a wholly anomalous
3d plural impf act.

ṛtenāsya nivartaye (MŚ °*ya*), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ °*ya*) TB. ApŚ.
MŚ. See §116.

§67. *vah* 'carry' (D. 253)

ta ā vahanti (MS *tayāvahante*) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS. TB.

jātavedo vahemam (ŚŚ. *vahasvainam*) *sukṛtām yatra lokah* (TA. *lokāh*)
TA. ŚŚ The reading of ŚŚ. is obviously secondary.

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB HG.· *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ. *ayāh san*,
and so ApMB. comm explains; KS *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*)
havyam ūhiṣe MS KS TB. AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB. HG.: *ayā
no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ. See §140

§68. *vid* 'obtain' and 'perceive' (D. 253)

videya TS KS AŚ ApŚ . *videyam* KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ *videya* TS is in same
passage as *videyam* ŚŚ

brāhmanam adya videyam (VSK. °*ya*)   VS. VSK. ŚB.

tat puruṣāya (MahānU * °*ṣasya*) *vidmahe* MS KS TA. MahānU :
puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya TA (immediately preceding the
other form)

tasya vittāt (MS *vitsva*) TS MS KS : *etasya vittāt* VS. ŚB. 'Take note
of that '

mā jñātāram mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta (AG † *vindantu*) AV. AG

§69. *viś* 'enter' (D 253)

ny anyā arkam abhito viviśre (AV '*viśanta*, JB *viviśyuh*) RV. AV. JB.
ŚB. AA.

sa no mayobhūh pito āviśasva (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav āviśasva;*
AŚ *pitav āviśeha;* MŚ *pitur āviveśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB.
PG : *sa nah pito* (!) *madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś . *sa nah pito ma-
dhumān ā viśeha* KS   See §§139, 332, on perfect active and present
middle, Renou 14, 144ff

Participles (cf §31)

viśo-viśah praviśvānsam īmahe AV · *viśvasyām viśi praviviśivānsam*
(KS † *praviviśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS   See §273

§70. *vyā* 'envelop' (D 254)

asmai devā amṛtāh (AV °*tani*) *sam vyayantām* (AV °*ntu*) AV TS MS.
ApMB

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG °*sā*) *sam vyayantu*
(PG *vyayasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG · *tās tvā jarase sam
vyayantu* AV   Stenzler, Transl of PG 1 4 13, takes PG. to be a
mere corruption, at a pinch it could perhaps be rendered 'wrap

thyself in these goddesses unto old age', with distinct middle force, belonging then with the preceding section

§71. *śudh* 'purify, be pure'

yad vo 'śuddhāh parā jaghnur etc , see §30

yat te krūram   tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*, MS *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ   Here both verbs are middle in force, or, more strictly, *śudhyatu* is properly a passive, made into an active intransitive by change from middle to active ending, see §§82, 30

§72. *śri* 'set up' (D 255)

vāk patamgāya śiśriye TS   *vāk patamgo aśiśriyat* (KS °*gā aśiśrayuh*) AV KS   See §219

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV °*h*, ApMB HG *risrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG   See §253

§73. *sad* 'sit' (D 230)

tisro devīr barhir edam sadantu (AV °*tām*) RV AV VS TS KS

sarasvatī (AV °*tīh*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV °*tām*) RV AV VS MS KS TB N

§74. *sarj* 'loosen' (D 255f)

tena mām indra sam srja (MŚ *srjasva*) TS TB MŚ

rāyas poṣena sam srja (MG *srjasva*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ SMB MG   In this and the prec *srjasva* in the cadence is bad

vi (MS KS *pra*) *parjanyah* (RV °*yam*, TS °*yāh*) *srjanti* (MS KS *srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS

pāvamānasya tvā stomena   vīryenot srje MS   *pātamānena tvā stomena   vīryena devas tvā savitot srjatu* TS

§75. *stu* 'praise' (D 257)

indravanta (AB °*tah*) *stuta* (AB *studhvam*) AB GB Vait

stuta Vait MŚ   *om stuta* ŚŚ ApŚ   *studhvam* AŚ   *om studhvam* AŚ

indro vide tam u stuhi (AA *stuṣe*) AA   Mahānāmnyah   See §165

§76. *sthā* 'stand' (D 257)

śivo me saptarṣīn (KŚ MŚ *sapta ṛṣīn*) *upa tiṣṭhasva* (Vait MŚ *tiṣṭhā*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ

yāvac ca sapta sindhavo vitasthire (TS °*tasthuh*) TS VS   *yāval sapta sindhavo vitasthire* AV.

yenaiṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU

kṣuttṛṣnābhyām tam yo gām vikṛntantam mānsam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhate TB   *kṣudhe yo gām vikṛntantam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhati* VS.

caus *sthāpaya* 'place' (cf D 257)

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV AV.. *āsthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV.

§77. *hu* 'sacrifice'

pra tve havīṇṣi juhure (KS *juhumas*) *samiddhe* (MS. *tve samiddhe juhure havīṇṣi*) RV VS TS MS. KS ŚB But *juhure* may be passive, with *havīṇṣi* as subject, so Grassmann.

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (ApŚ *juṣatām;* MŚ. *juhutāni*) *havih svāhā* PB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§78. *hū* 'call' (D 261)

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU. *hvayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV. AV SV VS. TS MS KS. MahānU.

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe;* KS. *johavīmi*) RVKh AV. TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ : *sarasvantam avase johavīmi* RV. The AV reading introduces a *jagatī* pāda into an otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanza, while KS. is a bad *triṣṭubh* contaminated from the two other readings. (Delete reference to KS 19. 14d in Conc. under *sarasvantam*, and add *his* to this reference under the other)

agnim (MahānU. *ugram*, AV *ukthair*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV. TA MahānU. The AV. reading is metrically bad

jtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS TS. KS. MS AŚ. ŚŚ The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*

prātarjitam bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV VS TB. ApMB N As in prec , *triṣṭubh* stanza.

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS TB. ApMB Here, on the contrary, the rest of the stanza is *jagatī*, and AV makes this pāda fit its context metrically.

havante vājasātaye RV.· *huveya vā°* RV. AV : *huvema vā°* RV. SV MS. KS

§79. *Interchanges between active and middle which occur only once*

arṣ 'move' (D. 233) *marya iva yuvatibhih sam arṣati* (AV. *iva yoṣāh sam arṣase*) RV SV. AV. The AV. reading is bad in meter and sense

as 'throw' (D. 237) *ayam yajamāno mṛdho vyasyatām* (AŚ *vyasyatu*) TB. AŚ ApŚ

ās + upa 'revere' (cf D. 233) *brahmaitad upāsvaitat* (MahānU. *upāsyaitat*) *tapah* TA MahānU. But Poona ed of TA as MahānU., v l. *upāsvai°* See §195

i + adhi 'read' (D 237) *adhīhi bhoh* AG ŚG. GG KhG HG GDh. ApDh RVPrātiśākhya 15 2 *adhīsva bhoh* MDh AuśDh

i + *palā* 'flee' *palāyiṣyamānāya svāhā* TS   *palāyiṣyate svāhā* KS
Participles

edh 'prosper' (D 229) *athāsyai* (TS. MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām*
(Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ *eyatu*, ŚŚ *eyati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
Vait LŚ *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA

kar 'praise' *sacāyor indraś carkṛṣa* (3d sing pres intensive mid) *ā*
RV *sadā va indraś carkṛṣad ā* SV. See Grassmann s v. *kir*, and
Oldenberg *RVNoten* 2 325

kalp, caus *kalpaya* 'shape' (cf D 234) *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV °*vah*)
kalpayasva (AV VS *kalpayāti*) RV AV VS

gar 'praise'· *marutām pitar uta tad gṛṇimah* KS   *marutām pitas tad*
aham gṛṇāmi (MS *gṛṇe te*) TS MS

gai 'sing' (D. 240) *rājānam samgāyata* (PG °*gāyetām*) ŚG PG

ghuṣ 'sound'. *devaśrutau deveṣv ā ghoṣethām* (VS ŚB *ghoṣatam*) VS. TS
MS KS ŚB. MŚ

cat, caus 'drive off' (cf D 231) *ghoṣenāmīvāṅś cātayata* (PB °*mīvān*
cātayadhvam) PB TB ApŚ

ci 'observe'. *cakṣuṣā ni cikīṣate* (MS °*ti*) VS TS MS KS ŚB.

ji 'conquer' (D 241)· *ity amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ *ajayathāh*, ŚB
ajayat) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

dah 'burn' (D 242) *ā te yatante rathyo yathāpṛthak, śardhānsy agne*
ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV MS
ApŚ See §§27, 250.

dī 'fly' *parnavīr iva dīyati* (SV °*te*) RV SV.

dīkṣ 'consecrate' (D 234)· *agnir dīkṣitah pṛthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā*
dīkṣayatu (JB *dīkṣeta*) *tayā dīkṣayā dīkṣe* JB ApŚ   And others,
see §160   The active is better, note the medio-passive *dīkṣe* follow-
ing in both texts

dyut 'shine'. *sam sūryena rocate* (SV *didyute*) RV SV VS MS ŚB
TA   *sam sūryena didyutad udadhir nidhih* VS

dhar, *dhāraya* 'hold' *soma* (MS *somā*) *indro varuno mitro agnis te devā*
dharmadhṛto dharmam dhārayantu (KS °*tām te 'smai vācam suvan-*
tām) MS KS

dharṣ 'dare'· *nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate* (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*)
śavah AV AV ŚŚ   'He is not to be dared against, his might dares '
See Whitney on AV 6 33 2 and Keith on AA 5 2 3 1   ŚŚ
seems to intend a perfect from caus , in sense of primary

naś 'perish' *alakṣmī me nasyatu* (MahānU °*ta*) TA MahānU   cf
alakṣmir me naśyatām   RVKh See under *bhaj*, below

naś 'attain' *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV
prai°) AV VS TS MS KS

parc 'mix': *vişe vişam apŗkthāh* (and, *aprāg api*) AV. (both). See
§36.

palāya 'flee': see *i + palā.*

pū 'purify' (D. 234, 245) *tat punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*) *yavā
mama* VıDh : *sarvam punatha me yavāh* BDh.: *sarvam punatha*
(VıDh *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh VıDh.

bhaɉ 'share' (D. 246). *śrī me bhaɉata* MahānU · *śrīr me bhaɉatu* TA.
Comm on MahānU : *lakṣmīr mahyam bhaɉatv ɩty arthah.*   See *naś*
'perish', above.

maɉɉ 'dive' (D 232). *upamañkṣyatı syā* (ŚŚ. °*mañkṣye 'ham*) *sahlasya
madhye* ŚB ŚŚ : *nımañkṣye 'ham sahlasya madhye* AB

man 'think' (D. 234)· *tam manyeta* (VıDh *vaɩ manyet*) *pɩtaram mātaram
ca* SamhitopB. VāDh VıDh N

ram 'rest' (D 250): *ɩha rama* (SMB *ramasva*) MS. AB AŚ. ApŚ.
SMB HG · *ɩha ramatām* VS ŚB HG. Note that HG. 1. 12. 2
has *rama* and *ramatām* side by sıde   VS. comm *ɩha bhavān rama-
tām.*

rā (ram) 'give'. *na pāpatvāya rāsīya* (SV. *ransıṣam*) RV. AV. SV.   See
§174

rāɉaya (denom) 'be king' (cf. D 232): *adhɩrāɉo rāɉasu rāɉayātaɩ* (TS.
°*tɩ*, MS. *rāɉayate*) AV. TS. MS   See §117

ruh 'grow'. *vayā ɩvānu rohate* (KS. °*tɩ*) RV KS ApŚ. MŚ . *vayā ɩvānu
rohate ɉuṣanta yat* RV.

reɉ 'tremble': *areɉetām* (TB. *areɉayatām*) *rodasī pāɉasā gɩrā* RV. TB.   See
§241

lubh 'desire' (D 232). *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (ApMB. HG.° *lulobha;*
ApŚ °*mamāda*) ApŚ ŚG ApMB. HG. MDh.

vakṣ 'grow'· *deva somaɩṣa te lokas tasmɩñ cham ca vakṣva parı ca vakṣva*
(VSK *lokah pari ca vakṣı śam ca vakṣı*, ŚBK. *tasmɩñ cham pari
ca vakṣı sam ca vakṣı*) VS VSK ŚB ŚBK   See §164

vac 'speak' (D 251)   *pra tad voced* (TA MahānU *voce*) *amŗtam nu* (AV.
amŗtasya) *vıdvān* AV VS TA MahānU. But the form *voce* is
highly questionable; see § 174

vadh 'slay' (D. 232): *ɩndrɩyam me vīryam mā nɩr vadhāh* (MŚ. *vadhɩṣta*)
TS. MŚ

van 'win' *daɩvyā hotāro* (TS °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanı°*) *pūrve*· (KS †
vanıṣan na etat) RV TS KS   Cf *daɩvā hotārah sanıṣan na etat* AV

vap 'throw' (D 252)   *pratɩprasthātah savanīyān nɩr vapa* (MŚ *vapasva*)
ApŚ MŚ

vardh 'grow' (D 253)   *avīvŗdhat* (VSK *avīvŗdhata*) *puro dāśena* (VSK.
puroḷ°) VS VSK   Cf *avīvŗdhanta* etc ın Conc

valh 'ask a riddle'. *etad brahmann upavalhāması* (AŚ *apa°*, LŚ *upabalhāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

śıkṣ 'help' *ındro yajvane pṛnate ca śıkṣatı* (AV *gṛnate ca śıkṣate*) RV AV TB

sac 'follow' (D 230) *anyavratasya* (TA *anyad vratasya*) *saścıma* (RV *saścıre*, TA *saścımah*) RV VS MS ŚB TA   Read *saścima* ın TA §262, c

san 'be effectıve' (D 233) *aryo naśanta sanıṣanta* (SV † *nas santu sanıṣantu*) *no dhıyah* RV SV   See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

sar 'move' (caus): *tā ubhau* (TS MS. KSA ApŚ *tau saha*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāva* (TS KSA ApŚ *°yāvahaı*, MS *°yāvah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

sah 'be able' *pra sākṣate pratımānānı bhūrı* RV AV . *pra sakṣatı pratımānam pṛthıvyāh* AV

sukratūya 'have excellent wısdom' (denom) *vartır yajñam parıyan sukratūyase* (KS *°sı*) RV KS

sev 'be devoted to'· *gṛdhrah suparnah kunapam nı ṣevatı* (TA † *ṣevase*) MS TA

stan 'thunder' (D 232) *pra te dıvo na stanayantı śuṣmāh* (MS *°yanta śuṣmaıh*) RV TS MS

snā 'bathe', caus (D 232) *prasnāpayantı ūrmınam* RV *prasnāpayanta ūrmayah* SV   Benfey, Transl 270a, 'waves bathed' (soma)   The SV passage ıs thoroly secondary, ıts comm , as quoted by Benfey, suggests that *ūrmayah* stands for acc sıng *ūrmım*, the subject beıng preempted by *svasārah*   But ıt may be taken as an addıtıonal, asyndetıc subject: 'the fingers (and) the waves wash (soma).'   Benfey's 'ımperfect' ıs a slıp for present

svad 'taste' (D 230) *havyā te svadantūm* (MS *svadan*, and once—erroneously?—*svadam*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

svap 'sleep' (D 236) *ūrdhvas tıṣthan mā dıvā svāpsīh* Kauś   *mā dıvā suṣupthāh* (SMB GG HG *svāpsīh*) ŚG SMB GG PG HG   *mā suṣupthāh* ŚB ApMB   *dıvā mā svāpsīh* AG

han 'slay' (D 259) *jaghanān upa jıghnate* (MS *°tu*, p p *°tı*) RV VS TS MS KSA

hā 'leave' (D 234). *nı vo jāmayo jıhatā* (ŚŚ *jıhatūm*) *ny ajāmayah* KB AŚ ŚŚ

hı 'ıncıte' *ṛtasya yonau* (RV *yonā*) *mahıṣā ahınvan* (RV *aheṣata*) RV TS KS ApMB

3 Interchange between active and passive

§80. Encroachment of passive construction upon active is a growing movement thru the history of Classical Sanskrit It is already noticeable in the later Vedic texts, and indeed is not entirely absent in the earliest, see Delbruck, *AISyntax* 268ff , who quotes many instances of passive construction where we should expect the active.

§81. The passive finite forms are originally medio-passive, their most conspicuous representatives, the present passive system, are specialized middles, and the remaining tenses, for the most part, are ordinary middles, not at all differentiated in form.[10] Hence, occasionally, a present middle construction interchanges with an active construction in a manner comparable with the variants of the present rubric, see above, §30 In a considerable number of cases, moreover, the passive version uses a past passive participle, with or without copula, for which see §245ff , and a few similar cases will be found in the rubric Perfect Passive Participles interchanging with Moods, §143f.

§82. There are one or two cases of a present passive form in *ya* appearing with active endings (cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§761b, 774):
yathā tvam agne samidhā samidhyase (SMB † °*si*) SMB PG. ApMB. HG.
But SMB has a v. l °*se*
yat te krūram. tat te śudhyatu etc., see §71.

§83. In the following list, in which both versions contain finite verbs (or, in a very few cases at the end, active and passive participles), no attempt is made, as a rule, to establish priority for either active or passive construction The examples are largely from ritual texts in which both constructions may be assumed to be familiar, and which offer no basis for relative chronology. In one instance, however, which involves RV , the active construction is clearly prior.

mahe cana tvām adrivah, parā śulkāya deyām RV. 'not would I, even for a high price, sell thee, O (Indra) to whom belong the press-stones"
mahe ca na tvādrivah, parā śulkāya dīyase SV., where *tvā* and *dīyase* together make nonsense Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 278

§84. On the other hand, in
ād id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate (AV † *pṛthivīm vy ūduh*) RV. AV. MS.

---

[10] It is to be noted that the well-known 3d person in *i* (Whitney, *Grammar* §§ 842ff), which is the only finite form outside of the present supposed to have exclusively passive function, is used at least once as a middle with active force, interchanging with a perfect active of the same meaning See *yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (mumoca)*, §59 Cf further Neisser, *BB* 30 305, and the variant *ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi* etc , §84

KS   *ād it pṛthivī ghṛtaır vy udyate* TS :   cf. *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī vy undhı* (KS *vyundan*) RV KS.

the solitary active of AV. ıs clearly secondary, patterned after RV 5 83 8.

Thus also ın the followıng, the (medıo-?) passive of RV ıs superıor to TA's actıve.

ā gharmo agnım ṛtayann asādı (TA *asādīt*) RV TA . *ā gharmo agnır amṛto na sādı* MS   We agree wıth Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 5 43 7, ın consıderıng the TA varıant 'meanıngless' for the RV , against Neısser (*BB* 30 305) who finds ıt ımportant and would ınterpret *asādı* as a mıddle, cf. our footnote 10 above, whıch shows that the mıddle ınterpretatıon of the word ıs *per se* quıte possıble

§85. The remainıng cases ınvolve occasıonally dırect transmutatıons of one voıce ınto the other, but for the most part the ınterrelatıons are of a looser kınd, ın whıch actıve ın one versıon and passıve ın the other are not dırectly convertıble

rajatā harınīh sīsā (MS *rajatāh sīsā harınīr*), *yujo yujyante* (MS *yuñjantu*) *karmabhıh* VS TS MS KSA

yat svapne annam aśnāmı AV   *yad annam adyate naktam* (HG *sāyam*) ApŚ HG

stṛnantı (RV * *stṛnīta*, RV * AV *tıstıre*) *barhır ānuṣak* RV (all three) AV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ N *tıstıre* ıs passıve

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyaṣıcyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyaṣıñcatam*, PG *°tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG   See §332 Subject ıs Aśvıns, except ın AV , where the verse ıs addrest to them too, but turned ınto passıve constructıon wıth subject *akṣāh*

varca ā dhehı me tanvam (KS *dhāyı me tanūh*) AV KS

satyam ṛte 'dhāyı (TB *dhāyı*, but Poona ed *'dhāyı* here and ın next, TS KSA *'dhām*) TS KSA TB ApŚ

ṛtam satye 'dhāyı (TB , see prec , TS KSA *'dhām*), same texts

mayı dhāyı (MS *dhehı*) *suvīryam* MS TB TA

abhıramantu bhavantah VıDh *abhıramyatām* (MŚ *°thām*) MŚ ŚG YDh BrhPDh

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī pūryethām VS ŚB   *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛnethām* (MS MŚ *pṛna*, LŚ *prīnāthām svāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ

maıṣām kam canoc chıṣah TS TB ApŚ   *maıṣām uc cheṣı kım cana* AV *māmīṣām kam canoc chıṣah* RV SV VS   *māmīṣām mocı kaś cana* AV

paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB . *tasyās te*
sahasraposam pusyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmi TS

pra tve havīṃṣi juhure (*juhumas*)   , see §77. *juhure* either mid. or ˙
pass

tat striyām anu ṣicyate (ŚG *siñcatu*) AV ŚG

saha dharmam cara (GDh. *dharmaś caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh.· *saho-*
bhau caratām dharmam MDh

asmin goṣṭha upa pṛñca nah AV . *āsu goṣūpa pṛcyatām* RV. TB. LŚ.
The AV is secondary in various ways, see Whitney on 9. 4. 23   `

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś *rāddham*) VS TS TA. Kauś   *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ.
MŚ GG. °*rātsam*) MS ŚŚ MŚ GG   See §248

dadato me mā kṣāyi (GB. Vait *me mopadasah*, MS. °*sat*) TS. MS. KS.
GB. TB Vait ApŚ.

ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ. *ajann agnih*) *pūrvah pūrvebhyah pavamānah*
pāvakaś śucir (ApŚ. *śucih pāvaka*) *īdyah* KS ApŚ.   Cf. Delbruck,
AISyntax 266

§86. A couple of cases, finally, concern interchange of active and
passive participles, as stated above, we shall deal later with the more
numerous instances of interchange between participles and finite
verbs

tantum tanvan (KS *tatam*) *rajaso bhānum anv ihi* RV. TS KS. AB. AŚ.
ŚŚ ApŚ AG HG

harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvah* RV. TB N.   *dhṛṣatā* is an
adverbial instrumental of the present participle.

4 Interchange between passive and middle

§87. This group exhibits interestingly a few cases in which the medio-
passive value of *ātmanepada* forms, quite clear by themselves, is, as it
were, glossed by corresponding passive forms   Thus, twice, the medio-
passive *amukthāh* varies with *amoci*, or *bhakṣyamānah* (*bhakṣamānah*)
with *bhaktah*   Note Delbruck's remark on *amoci*, op cit. 266, and,
more generally, 263 ff   A few cases of this sort are unreliable on account
of the phonetic uncertainty of *y* in combination with two other conso-
nants, such as *vṛścantām* and *vṛścyantām*, the former of which may in
reality be equal to *vṛścyantām*, cf §§27, 28

mā pṛnan pūrtyā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS *rādhi*) TS MS KS

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV. TB.
ApMB.

Followed by.

druhah pāśān nirṛtyai codamoci TB ApMB   *druhah pāśād grāhyāś*

codamukthāh AV   Cf Delbruck, op cit. 266   Both here and in the pree Ppp has *amoci*, but see §329

sam barhır aktam (VS ŚB *añktām*) *havıṣā ghṛtena* AV VS ŚB   *sam añktām ba° ha° ghṛ°* TB ApŚ   See §144

vājıno vājajıto vājam   *bhāgam avajıghrata nı mṛjānāh* (KS *bhāge nımṛjatām,* TS *bhāge nı mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB   *vājınau vājajıtau vājam jıtvā bṛhaspater bhāge nımṛjyethām* MS   The last phrase means. 'Be ye (ye two) cleansed', or 'being eleansed' (mid participle in VS ŚB), or 'let them be eleansed'   Only MS has a definitely passive form, the rest have middles substantially in passive sense

ā vṛścyantām (AV *vṛścantām*) *adıtaye durevāh* RV AV   See §28

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthıvī ā pṛncthām (MS MŚ *pṛna*, LŚ *prīnāthām svāhā*) TS MS KS. LŚ ApŚ MŚ   *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthıvī pūryethām* VS ŚB   The contrast between *pṛncthām* and *pūryethām* brings this variant in here, ef §85

svāhā marudbhıh (MS MŚ *°bhyah*) *parıśrayasva* (VS ŚB *°śrīyasva*) VS MS ŚB MŚ TA KŚ   *marudbhıh parıśrīyasva* ŚB   'Hail, be encompassed (encompass thyself) with (for) the Maruts'

na karmanā lıpyate pāpakena ŚB TB BrhU BDh 'he is not stained by evil action' *na karma lıpyate nare* VS ĪśāU 'action does not stick to a man '   The latter shows *lıpyate* middle in form but almost transitive in meaning (governing *nare*)

Participles

bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah (KS ms *bhakṣa°*) VS KS   Cf *bhakṣah pītah* VSK   *bhakṣa āgatah* TS   See §27

jajñānā (SV *yā jātā*) *pūtadakṣasā* RV SV

nırṛtyaı parıvıvıdānam (TB *parıvıttam*), and, *ārtyaı parıvıttam* (TB. *parıvıvıdānam*) VS TB   Exchange between the two equivalent participles

[*samjhānāya svāhā* TS KSA   Conc quotes *samjhıtāya* for KSA]

CHAPTER III   THE MOODS

Observations on the scope and character of modal interchanges

§88   In the midst of the variations which concern the verb change of mood looms as the most constant and important   Any mood may be supplanted by any other—*bellum omnium contra omnes*—in most cases, apparently, without any clear change of meaning   If there is any psychological shift of attitude in these changes, that shift is at the most and solely due to an arbitrary change in the appraisal of the original mood   Granted that the moods really expressed different values, there is no conceivable motive for the mass of these changes, except the sub-jective feeling of the repeater or reciter of the second form   Of course this does not exclude the possibility of an occasional imitation of a related expression which has come to the mind of the repeater   But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that independent changes of the repeater's mood are, in the main, and in varying degrees, at the bottom of this unbridled variety, tho such an assumption is, in the circumstances, the purest kind of argument in a circle   In any case the frequency of these changes testifies eloquently to that genuine instability in the use of moods which characterizes Hindu speech at least up to the time of the modern vernaculars   And because they concern all moods, the following pages are a kind of negative syntax of the ancient Sanskrit moods   Needless to say, the conditions described in this chapter happen to be unparalleled in the history of recorded literature and speech. A preliminary selection from them was published by Bloomfield in *AJP* 33 1 ff

§89   The interest of these interchanges is greatly enhanced by the uncommonly large formal apparatus for expressing mood which is at the disposal of the Vedic language   This apparatus is considerably larger than that of Classical Sanskrit, and, we believe, than that of any other Indo-European language   The following forms carry with them modal value, under circumstances to be dealt with in detail later on, in various ways and various degrees they interchange with one another.

1   Present Indicative

2   Various Preterite Indicatives, notably Aorist, also predicative Past Passive Participles

3   Imperative (including those in *tāt*)

4. Imperatival forms in *si* and (?) *se*
5 Subjunctive
6 Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive forms
7 Injunctive
8 Optative
9 Precative
10 Future
11. Desiderative
12 Infinitive

The rôle of the last two of these twelve classes is unimportant and, as regards strict modal quality, somewhat dubious This still leaves ten modal categories whose interrelations are the theme of the following pages.

§90 Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the modal interchanges as between two or more different texts, there are three preliminary matters which substantiate this instability, and lend atmosphere to the subject as a whole   First, one and the same text sometimes varies its mood in what may be regarded as a repetition of the same passage. Secondly, the interchanges in different texts sometimes, and not rarely, bring in three or even more different moods   Thirdly, change of tense goes along with change of mood without, again, affecting the resulting meaning   Related with the last class are the numerous cases in which different tense-forms of the same mood interchange, again without the least indication of difference in function, see §§208 ff.

Interchange of moods in passages repeated in the same text

§91. Any single Vedic text is likely to show iteration on an extensive scale (cf. Bloomfield, *JAOS*. 31. 49 ff).   In these repeated passages the mood may be changed, either, apparently, for no other than subjective reason, or because of some external circumstance provoked by the technique of the text in question   Thus the RV .

ādityair no aditih śarma yansat 1. 107 2, 4 54 6,
ādityair no aditih śarma yachatu 10 66 3,
'Aditi, together with the Ādityas, shall offer us protection '   *yansat* is aorist subjunctive, *yachatu* present imperative, cf the same relation between RV 10 128 8a and AV. 5 3 8a, and see §106 for the frequent interchange between the stems *yacha* and *yans* in general   The motive of the variation is metrical   The first verse is *triṣṭubh*, the second *jagatī*   To see any other reason for the change would be sheer hairsplitting, one sentence says exactly the same as the other.

§92 The same criterion governs the choice of *kṛdhi*, aorist imperative, and *kah*, aorist injunctive in the two RV. pādas:

  asmabhyam indra varivah sugam kṛdhi 1 102 4,

  asmabhyam mahi varivah sugam kah 6 44 18

See *RVRep*. 530.—Also in the following, both in KS

  vācaspatir vācam nah svadatu 15 11,

  vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti nah 13 14

The first phrase is prose, the second receives a *jagatī* cadence   See §104, p

  §93 Only in a partial or one-sided way, if at all, can metrical convenience be assigned as a ground for the following variation

  suvedā no vasū kṛdhi RV 7 32 25,

  suvedā no vasū karat RV 6 48 15

'Make (let him make) wealth easy for us to get ' *kṛdhi* is aor impv., *karat* aor subj , there is no reason why the poet of 7 32 25 should not have used *karah* to match *karat*, but as to 6 48 15 it may be observed that the meter would oppose the use of the aor impv **kartu*, mixed aor subj -impv *karatu*, or pres impv. *kṛnotu* or *karotu*

  §94 In passages repeated in the same vicinity, we find modal variations which appear to be due simply to the stylistic urge for variety, the change is for its own sake   This is prettily illustrated in the following RV. instance

  jeṣah svarvatīr apah 1 10. 8c,

  jeṣat svarvatīr apah 8 40 10,

  ajaih svarvatīr apah 8 40 11.

'Thou shalt conquer (hast conquered, he shall conquer) the waters rich in light ' In 8 40 10 we have a secondary repetition with change of person of 1 10 8c, in the next verse this is deliberately modulated by substitution of the aor indic for subj   See *RVRep* 39 —Similarly,

  jyok pitṛṣv āstām AV 1 14 1, 'long may she sit among the fathers', is modulated in vs 3 of the same hymn to

  jyok pitṛṣv āsātai,

with subj for impv , which means exactly the same thing, it may also have been felt as improving the meter

  Here may likewise be recorded *abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti* (6 63 7 °*tu*) RV 1 118 4, 6 63 7   For in pāda a of 1 118 4 occurs the form *vahantu*, and it seems fairly clear that the following *vahanti* is a sort of stylistic dissimilation, and is secondary to *vahantu* of 6 63 7. See *RVRep* 124

  AV 11 10 14a *sarve devā atyāyanti* is repeated in the next verse,

15a, with *atyāyantu*, again, apparently, the change is for stylistic variety

§95 Possibly of the same order may be the reason for the change in
svadhvarā kṛnuhi jātavedah RV. 3 6 6, 7 17. 3,
svadhvarā karati jātavedāh RV 6 10 1, 7 17. 4;

'Prepare, O Jātavedas (let J prepare) effective sacrifices!' (Cf other forms of the same pāda in other texts, §154) If we assume that the variation originated in 7. 17 3 and 4, the desire for variety may be sufficient to account for it; we can, at any rate, see no other reason *kṛnuhi* is pres impv., *karati* aor subj   The 3d person subj forms are just as good imperatives as true imperative forms   Consider the 3d person mixed subj -impv forms treated below, §173, and let us remember that the so-called 1st person imperatives are really subjunctives In view of these facts, and of the enormous number of interchanges between the two moods (below, §§151ff), we may confidently say that there is no real difference between subjunctive and imperative in the mantras, at least as far as principal clauses go [11]

§96 In the next, a RV repetition,
jyok paśyema sūryam uccarantam 10 59 6,
jyok paśyāt sūryam uccarantam 4 25 4,

'Long may we (he) behold the rising sun !', the variation between trissyllabic and dissyllabic verb-forms goes hand in hand with dissyllabic and trissyllabic pronunciation of *sūryam (sūriam)*   Since *sūria-* is commoner in RV , we may perhaps assume that *paśyema* is secondary But it must be observed that this has no apparent bearing on the question of moods, since the subj *paśyāma* would do just as well in 10 59 6, and the opt *paśyet* in 4 25 4

§97 In AV 6 122 5, 11 1 27 *indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me* (11. 1 27 *dadād idam me*), 'Indra with the Maruts, may he give that to me!', a slight and apparently unnecessary change between *tad* and *idam* goes along with, and either causes or is caused by, the exchange between impv and injunctive (? subjunctive, from stem *dada-*)   Again, AV 19 50 7 has the metrically correct couplet *uṣā no ahna ā bhajād, ahas tubhyam vibhāvari*, 'may the dawn commit us to the day, the day to thee, O shining one !'   For the sake of a slight and unnecessary lexical alteration AV 19 48. 2 varies the mood and violates the meter *uṣā no ahne pari dadātu, ahas tubhyam vibhāvari*   The meaning is the same

---

[11] The chief distinction between the two moods appears to be the exclusion of the 2d person imperative from dependent (except prohibitive) sentences Cf RV. 8 103 14 *mādayasva svarnare*, 'delight thyself with (*chez*) Svarnara', but 8 65 2 *yad mādayāse svarnare*, 'when thou mayst delight thyself' etc

RV. 10 35 13 *viśve no devā avasā gamantu*, 'may all the gods come hither with help for us', is changed in 1. 89. 7 to *viśve no devā avasā gamann iha* The patch-word *iha* helps the substituted subj. *gaman* (instead of mixed impv.-subj *gamantu*) to make a *jagatī* pāda out of a *triṣṭubh*.

AV. 7 60 7 *viśvā rūpāni puṣyata*, 'prosper ye in all forms', is adapted to the cosmogonic Rohita in 13 2 10 *viśvā rūpāni puṣyasi*, 'thou prosperest in all forms' The Ppp in the latter passage has *prajāḥ sarvā vi paśyasi*, 'thou beholdest every way all creatures', a more appropriate saying for the solar Rohita, and probably the original one; the Śaunaka version has mechanically imitated 7 60 7 which floated thru the mind of its redactor

§98. Metrical convenience may again be held to account for the subj -opt interchange in RV. 7 66 16 *jīvema śaradaḥ śatam*, appearing secondarily with change of person in 10 85 39 as *jīvāti* etc For the opt 3d sing *jīvet* would not fit the meter. It is interesting to note that this pāda, RV 10 85 39, is repeated in ApMB. 1. 5 2 with change of *jīvāti* to the hybrid subj -impv *jīvātu*, showing the tense sympathy between subj and impv. in the third person, alluded to above

§99 In one RV repetition there is no other than the resulting metrical difference between a pres subj and an aor. indic .

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā, ubhe bhayete rajasī apāre 4. 42 6, 'When the soma libations and the songs of praise incite me, both boundless hemispheres (heaven and earth) are afright '

purū sahasrā ni śiśāmi dāśuṣe, yan mā somāsa ukthino amandiṣuḥ 10 48 4

We may of course render the aor of this passage. 'Many thousands do I secure for my worshiper when the soma libations accompanied by songs of praise have incited me ' But in truth the aor is here just as modal as the subj , it is the so-called prophetic aorist which states a wish as an accomplished fact See §127 below

§100 Again, the imperative in *tāt* (Whitney, *Grammar* §571; Delbruck, *AISyntax* §207, Speyer, *Ved. Skt. Synt.* §188, n 1) fails to differentiate itself modally from the ordinary pres impv. in two RV parallels.

pra no yachatād avṛkam pṛthu chardiḥ 1 48 15,
prāsmai yachatam avṛkam pṛthu chardiḥ 8 9. 1,
'Do thou furnish us (do ye two furnish him) broad protection against enemies ' (Cf further RV 8 27 4, *yantā no avṛkam chardiḥ*, with a yet different mood) The difference is at most chronological, *yachatād* may be a more archaic form, and it occurs in an older part of RV., see

Oldenberg, *Proleg* 262, and *RVRep* 82   Thus we may account for
the variation between *kṛdhi* and *kuru* in ŚŚ *tato no abhayam kṛdhi* 3
20 2 and   *kuru* 13 2 2   Here the mood is the same, but the archaic
aor impv (inherited from RV and kept in nearly all of the numerous
reproductions of the *pāda* in other texts, see §210, a) is replaced by the
commonplace pres impv *kuru*

§101   We can conceive no reason for the variation between impv and
precative in the following formula, both forms of which are found in KS
durmitrās tasmai santu (38 5 *bhūyāsur*) *yo 'smān dveṣṭi* 3 8, 38 5, 'may
they be hostile to him who hates us '

Instances of more than two modal varieties in the same passage

§102   In quite a number of cases more than two moods, usually
three, but occasionally even more than three, interchange in different
versions of one and the same passage   These are of special interest
because they show in a superior degree that the modal distinctions are
the reverse of sharp   The cases here listed are not repeated below under
the heads of the much more numerous interchanges between two moods,
they may be added there without any great inconvenience

§103   In the formulaic prayer which says 'may I (thou, we, or he)
live a hundred autumns'', there is a confluence of almost all modal
varieties subj *jīvāti*, impv *jīva*, mixed impv -subj *jīvātu*, opt *jīvema*,
subj (or impv) 1st pers. *jīvāni* and *jīvāva*, and, finally, present indic
jīvāmi   Their citations may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance,
see e g *jīvāḥ śaradaḥ śatam*   And compare with these the closely
related *triṣṭubh* pāda, *śatam jīvantu* (*jīvantah, jīvema, jīvāmi, ca jīva*)
śaradaḥ purūcīḥ (*suvarcāḥ*), 'may they (we, I, thou) live a hundred
numerous autumns' or 'a hundred autumns being in possession of glory '

§104   In the majority of the following list of multiple modal inter-
changes, one or more indicatives figure often along with one or more of
the oblique moods, cf §§112ff and 127ff   These are followed by cases
in which at least three non-indicative forms vary with each other   In
the first not less than four moods are found (five if we count the mixed
subj -impv).

(a) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Imperative, Im-
perative, and Precative

ito mukṣīya māmutah (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ   *preto muñcāmi*
(AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu*; PG † *muñcatu*; ApMB *muñcāti*)
nāmutah (ŚG MG SMB † *māmutah*, PG *mā pateh*) RV AV AG.
ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG   'Hence, and not thence (not from my, or

her, husband) may I be loosened (I loosen, let him loosen, etc) '   Cf.
in Conc *mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt (mā patyuh)*.   See §312

(b) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:

prapitāmahān bibharti pinvamānah (TA † *°maham bibharat pinvamāne*)
AV 'TA : *svarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ   'It supports (shall
support) our great-grandfathers, swelling' or the like

sā nah payasvatī duhām (TS PG *dhukṣva;* MS SMB. *duhā,* followed
by vowel, but SMB once, 2 2 1c, *duhām* acc. to Jorgensen, and so
v. 1 of MS.; MS p p *duhe*) RV. AV. TS MS KS SMB. PG   'Rich
in milk she yields (yield thou, let her yield) to us '   The MS and SMB
readings are doubtful

yajñasyāyur anu sam caranti (AŚ *tarantu*) TA AŚ · *yajñāyur anu
sam carān* TB. ApŚ   'Let them (they do) follow along the life of the
sacrifice!'

kṣeme tiṣṭhāti (ŚG *tiṣṭha,* PG *tiṣṭhatu,* HG *tiṣṭhati*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānā*
AV ŚG PG HG. 'May it, dripping ghee, stand (or, it stands   ,
stand thou) in security.'

(c) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

teṣv (ŚG. *anyeṣv,* read *yeṣv* with Oldenberg, *ISt* 15 73, note) *aham
sumanāh sam viśāmi* (AŚ *°ni* [text, *°ti*], MG. *vasāma,* ŚG. *viśeyam*)
AŚ ApŚ ŚG. HG ApMB. MG. (see Knauer's note on. MG 1. 14 6).
'(May) I (we) in this house live happily' or the like

(d) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Precative.

sūrya bhrājiṣṭha bhrājiṣṭhas (with variants) *tvam* (MS adds *varcasvān*)
deveṣv asi (MS. *edhi,* TS *deveṣu bhūyāh*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB ŚŚ.
'O brilliant sun, thou art (be thou) brilliant among the gods '

ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB. *kṛnomi*) RV. ApMB ·
ariṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu KŚ MŚ MG.: *ariṣṭāham saha patyā
bhūyāsam* VS   'I make thee (he shall make me; may I be) free from
harm, with thy (my) husband '

(e) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Future:

yāvatīnām idam karomi (ŚG. *kariṣyāmi*) *bhūyasīnām uttarām* (ŚG.
°mām) *samām kriyāsam* MS. MŚ. ŚG.· *yāvatīnām-yāvatīnām va aiṣamo
lakṣanam akāriṣam bhūyasīnām-bhūyasīnām va uttarām-uttarām samām
kriyāsam* SMB †

(f) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Imperative·

vācaspatih somam apāt MS TA ŚŚ.:   *pibatu* TA ŚŚ ·   *pibati* TA
All in same context. 'The lord of speech has drunk (drinks, shall
drink) the soma.'

sugā (TS ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāh sadanā* (TS N. *°nam*) *akarma* (MS

kṛnomi, KŚ ApŚ Kauś *sadanāni santu*, KS *sadanedam astu*) AV
VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ Kauś N   'We have made (I make,
let be) your seats easy of access for you, O gods '

(g) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Precative

nir (KS *nir druho nir*, VS ŚB *svāhā nir*) *varuṇasya pāśān mucye*
(KS *mukṣīya*, MS. *pāśād amukṣi*) VS MS KS ŚB   'I am (have been,
may I be) released from Varuṇa's fetter '

(h) Present Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Subjunctive

salakṣmā (MS KS °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*pam*)
bhavāti (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB   *viṣurūpā yat*
salakṣmāno bhavatha TS   'That whoso (what) is like should be different'
or the like   See §330, end

varuṇeti śapāmahe (MS † °*hai*, AV *yad ūcima*) AV VS TS MS KS
ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

(i) Imperfect Indicative (or Injunctive), Perfect Indicative, and
Imperative

kāmam (AV PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV *viveśa*,
KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ   'Desire hath entered
(shall enter) the ocean', or, 'enter into the ocean desire '

(k) Imperfect Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Perfect Optative

ny anyā arkam abhito viviśre (AV *'viśanta*, JB *viviśyuh*) RV AV JB
ŚB AA   'Others settled (may settle) about the sun '

(l) Imperfect Indicative, Imperative, and Injunctive

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB   But *svadan* may be imperfect, like *asvadan*, see §8

(m) Aorist Indicative, Injunctive, and Imperative (Subjunctive-
Imperative)

apaitu mṛtyur amṛtam na āgan (PG *āgāt*) TB TAA ApŚ PG HG
paraitu mṛtyur amṛtam na aitu (ŚŚ SMB *amṛtam ma ā gāt*) AV ŚŚ
SMB   'Let death depart, immortality hath (shall) come to us (me) '
As between *āgāt* and *ā gāt* the mss are, of course, indeterminate

akṣan, aghat(tam), aghan, aghasan, °*sat, aghastām tam, ghasat, ghasan,
ghastu,* and *ghasantu* see Conc under each word   All mean 'he has
(they have) eaten' or 'shall eat '

(n) Aorist Indicative, Imperative, and Future

subhūtakṛtah subhūtam nah kṛnuta ŚŚ   *suhutakṛtah stha suhutam
kariṣyatha* (and, *akārṣta*) AŚ

(o) Perfect Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive

madhu tvā (AV *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV *karah*, RV *cakāra*, MS
kṛnotu) RV AV MS TA ApŚ   'May it, honeyed, make thee honey',
'it, honeyed, has made etc ', 'do thou, honeyed, make honey for me '

(p) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Subjunctive-Imperative ·

vācaspatır no adya vājam svadatu VSK · *vācaspahr vācam* (VS ŚB.†
also *vājam) nah svadatu* (TS KS.* *vācam adya sı adātı nah,* TB .
svadātı te [but Poona ed *nah*], MS *svadātu nah)* VS TS MS KS.
(bıs) ŚB TB SMB 'May the Lord of Speech sweeten our (thy)
speech (food).'

svadantu havyam madhunā ghṛtena RV AV. VS MS. KS TB N.·
svadātı (MS °*tu) havyam* (VS KS *yajñam) madhunā ghṛtena* VS MS.
KS TB

agnış tān (AŚ *tāl*, for *tānl) lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudātv,* SMB
nudatv) asmāt VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB *agnış* (ApŚ *agne) tān
asmāt pra nunottu* (ApŚ *nudasva) lokāt* (AV *pra dhamātı yajñāt)*
AV ApŚ MŚ 'May Agnı (O Agnı) drıve them away from this
world '

(q) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Injunctive:

vıśvā †*deva pṛtanā abhışya* TB ApŚ HG : *vıśvāś ca deva* (PG *devah)
pṛtanā abhışyāh* (PG † °*syak)* KS PG 'O god (let the god) annıhılate
all the hosts ' On *abhışyak* see §337, end

mandūkyā su sam gamah (Conc *gama,* by error, TA *gamaya)* RV.
TA *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV.

(r) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative ·

mahyam ıd vaśam ā nayāt ApMB *mahyam punar udājatu* HG . *mah-
yam muktvāthānyam ānayet* PG

(s) Imperative, Imperative in *tāt,* and Subjunctive:

etam jānātha (KS *jānīta,* TB *jānītāt) parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB.
TB *jānīta smaınam* (TS. MŚ *jānītād enam) parame vyoman* AV. TS.
MŚ 'Acknowledge hım ın the hıghest heaven ' Cf. *tam sma jānīta*
(VSK °*tha) parame vyoman* AV. VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ , which
introduces also the present ındıcatıve, ıf we may trust the VSK. readıng

(t) Imperative, Imperative ın *tāt,* and Optative

chandonāmānām (wıth varıants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt;*
MŚ *gachet)* VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Arrıve (may he arrıve) at the
sovereıgnty of the meters' names', or the lıke

deveṣu nah sukṛto (VSK. *mā sukṛtam) brūtāt* (KS *brūta,* PB. MŚ.
brūyāt) VSK TS KS ·PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt* (ŚB wıth
ūha, *voceh)* VS ŚB · *sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS A 3d person form is
ımpossıble here, PB comm reads *brūtāt,* and probably MŚ should be
read so too 'Declare us (me) rıghteous among (to) the gods.'

(u) Imperative, Optatıve, and Precative

tasya na ıṣtasya prītasya dravınehāgameh VS 'Wealth of this en-

joyed sacrifice, come here to us!'. *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravinehāgamyāt* MS (see §332) *tasya meṣtasya vītasya dravinam ā gamyāt* (KS *dravinehāgamyāh*, ApŚ *dravinehāgameh*) TS. KS ApŚ. · *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya dravinam māgachatu* KS (so read in both 5 4 and 32 4, with ms at 32 4, v. Schroeder wrongly emends to *dravinam āga°*).

pari no heti rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK °*yāt*) RV VSK : *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* TS KS · *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* VS MS 'May Rudra's missile avoid us ' Cf *pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* AV. KS , and *pari vo heti rudrasya vṛjyāh* (TB *vṛñjyāt*) RV TB See *RVRep.* 573, where the pāda *pari tvā* etc , and the Concordance reference thereto, are to be deleted, add KS 30 10 under *pari vo rudrasya* etc.

(v) Imperative, Injunctive, and Optative

sarvam āyur geṣam (AV *aśīya*, TA *ayāni*, ŚB *ihi*) AV. KS. TB. ŚB TA ApŚ. Cf *sa° ā° asi* TB ApŚ

(w) Imperative, Precative, and Past Passive Participle

apahato 'raruh pṛthivyai (also, °*vyā adevayajanah*, and, °*vyai devayajanyai*) TS ApŚ . *apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanā* (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ.. *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Driven away is (drive away, I would drive away) Araru from the earth' etc.

(x) Subjunctive, Injunctive, and Optative

anu (MS erroneously, *nu*, KB ŚŚ *upa*) *vām jihvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS KS KB ŚŚ *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caranyat* (TS °*yet*) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB : *prati vām jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV. TS † also, *ā*) *caranyat* (AV. °*yāt*, TS °*yet*) AV TS MS KS KB AŚ ŚŚ 'May your tongue move up to meet the ghee', or the like

kṣetrasya patnī adhi no bruvāthah (TS *brūyātam*, KS. *adhi vocatam nah*) TS MS KS 'Ye two mistresses of the field, bless us!' On the meaning of *adhi-vac* and *adhi-brū*, see Gehman, *JAOS* 36 213 ff

yad adya hotrvarye (ŚŚ °*vurye*), *jihmam cakṣuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ °*tāt*), *agniṣ ṭat punar ābharāt* (ApŚ † °*rat*, ŚB. *ābhriyāt*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ. 'That which, at the choice of the *hotṛ*, may escape the crooked (faulty) eye, that may Agni bring back here '

(y) Optative, Precative, and Future

cārum adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam ApŚ *madhumatīm* (ŚŚ °*tīm adya*) *devebhyo vācam udyāsam* (ŚŚ *vācam vadiṣyāmi*) TS. TA. ŚŚ · *madhumacīm vācam udeyam* AV · *indriyāvatīm adyāham vācam udyāsam* , ApŚ 'May I (I shall) speak (today) honeyed (sweet) speech (to the gods) '

Change of tense

§105. According to a familiar fact of Vedic grammar the mood of any so-called tense has precisely the same value as the corresponding mood of any other tense, or, stated conversely, the moods may avail themselves indifferently of the so-called tenses to express what appears to our feeling as impenetrably undifferentiated modal value   This type of interchange belongs as well to the section on tenses, and is treated there in so far as forms are concerned which are identical in mood but different in tense (§§208ff)   E g , as between *vinda*, present imperative, and *vida*, aorist imperative, there is no difference whatever in the historic period of the language   Now this element of formal tense-difference appears frequently along with modal variation   That is to say, along with a change, say, from imperative to subjunctive, there is also a change from present to aorist, or some other tense change   These interchanges, tho they are necessarily negative on the side of tense, enhance still further the sense of the instability of modal interchange   Many pairs of this sort occur in the preceding and following lists, and can easily be gathered from them   But we have, in addition, separated the modal interchanges that are accompanied by tense interchanges, wherever the groups were large enough to make such a subdivision desirable   Thus, in the case of interchanges between Imperative and Subjunctive (§§151ff), and between Imperative and Injunctive (§§155ff)

§106 A number of these combined mood and tense changes will be found quite standard and typical   Thus, to illustrate the crossing of tense and mood in a few roots we may write out in full the following variants

Present stem *yacha-* aorist stem *yans-*

ādityair no adhih śarma yansat (and, *yachatu*) RV (both)

mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG *adhih śarma yansat*) AV. TS MS. KS TB TA ŚG ApMB

uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS. KS

sa (AV. *sā*) *nah śarma trivarūtham vi yansat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV. MS KS TB ApŚ   Here both are subjunctives

§107 More variegated are the correspondences of present imperatives of root *bhū* (occasionally also *as*) with combinations of other moods and tenses from *bhū*   The phonetic element that enters into the interchange between *av* and *uv* in several of these cases has been discussed above, §23

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

sammislo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV.

sampriyah paśubhir bhava (TS ApŚ *bhuvat*) MS TB ApŚ *sampri-yam prajayā paśubhir bhuvat* TA

tvam bhavādhipatir (AV *bhūr abhibhūtir*) *janānām* AV. MS KS

śam astu tanve mama AV.. *śam v astu tanvai tāva* VS *śam u te tanve* (TS *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS. KSA

[*svāveśo anamīvā bhavā naḥ*, the Conc. quotation *bhuvā* for *bhavā* in ApMB is to be deleted]

§108 More briefly we find interchange in the root *kṛ*, 'make', aor subj *karati·* pres impv *kṛṇotu* (§154), aor subj *karah*. pres impv *kṛṇotu* (and perf ind *cakāra*, §104, o), aor impv. *kṛdhi* and aor. subj *karat* pres impv *kṛṇu* (§154). From *dā* 'give' and *dhā* 'place', aor inj *dāḥ* and *dhāḥ*. pres impv. *dehi* and *dhehi*, and *dhāḥ* *dadhātu* (§158), also *dhatta*, *datta* *dāta*, and *dattām* *dātām*, and *dhatta* *dhāntu* (§198) From *ji* 'conquer', *jayata* *jeṣatha* (aor subj , §154), and *jayema* *jeṣma* (§174). From *gam* and *gā* 'go', *gamema·* *geṣma*, and *gan·* *gamet* (§174), each pair in this case consisting of different aorist stems From *nī* 'lead', *ninetu·* *neṣat* (§154). From *pā* 'protect', *pātu* *pāsati* (§154). From *naś* 'perish', *naśyatu* *neśat* (§158) From *vid* 'obtain', *vindatu* *vidat* (*ibidem*) and *vidanta* *vindantu* (§159). From *sthā* 'stand,' *tiṣṭha· sthāt* (§158) From *kram* 'stride', *krāma*. *krāmīh* (§159)

§109. There are also cases in which the indicative of one tense interchanges with an oblique mood of another tense Thus from *mad* 'rejoice', *mamadan* (pres subj) *amandiṣuh* (aor ind §145, a), from *van* 'win,' *vanute*, *vansate*, and *vanate* (§117), from *man* 'think', *manve manai* (aor. subj , §119)

Of course the interchange of Precative (aorist Optative) and other moods commonly also involves change of tense; for examples, see §161.

SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF MODAL INTERCHANGES

§110 We turn now to a systematic account of the modal variations. As far as we can observe, the texts of different schools show no constitutional preference for any one mood as against any other On the contrary, they all seem to show complete indifference of choice between them all It is possible, of course, when a text substitutes e g imperative for subjunctive or precative for optative, that it approaches the passage from a slightly altered direction, or with a different quality of emotion But it is commonly the same passage, in the same connection, uttered in the midst of the same real properties At least the variants show a very strong tendency to regard the moods as interchangeable

A good deal depends on the frequency of these interchanges; the more common they are, the greater the chance that they imply indifference to modal distinction, and nothing more. We may remember the numerous cases of interchange between active and middle voices, also for the most part bare of real distinction, which we have presented above

§111 We shall deal with the moods in the order stated above. The passages in each class involve interchange between two moods only; these may be reinforced here and there from the groups involving more than two modal varieties (above, §104), which are not repeated here.

I PRESENT INDICATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§112. This is the most frequent interchange. It includes nearly 300 cases, distributed rather unevenly between imperative, subjunctive, injunctive, and optative It is in the main temperamental, rather than logical; philological, rather than grammatical. The Vedic mantras deal almost entirely with the praise of gods; with efforts to coax them into good humor and generosity; and with all sorts of magic or hocus-pocus that is supposed to fulfil wishes. In such an atmosphere the indicative, tho by nature a *modus rectus*, is in truth a sort of *modus obliquus* (*subjunctivus*), almost everything that is stated categorically is meant modally. The indicative states things as certain; as a matter of fact these things are merely wished for, hoped for, requested, or importunately insisted upon So, e g , to illustrate by one of the keenest desires in every stratum of the Veda, the desire for *dakṣiṇā* (baksheesh). A poet-priest states, apparently with serene confidence, therefore in the pres ind , that a certain god is clever (*prajānan*) in making even the stingy man give gifts to the priests:

  aditsantam dāpayati prajānan VS KS. ŚB ,

'he cleverly makes the stingy man give. But in truth the poet is whistling in the woods What is really meant is, that he wishes, hopes, or requests that the god may, shall, or should do so Accordingly three other texts read impv. *dāpayatu*, 'let him make to give', for the ind *dāpayati*, 'makes to give':

  aditsantam (AV. *ulādit̥sa°*) *dāpayatu prajānan* AV. TS MS

Here we find no means for deciding which reading is the better or older. —If this were a question of logic or grammar, and not of temperament or manner of speaking, we might enrich the vocabulary of grammatical terminology by yet one more item, 'hortative indicative'.

§113. The hortative indicative is on the whole perhaps the commonest modal expression in the Veda. Its real interest for grammar is that it

varies impartially with pretty much all the oblique moods, showing indirectly that this most generalized kind of wish harbors no modal precision

§114 We present first the variants which concern principal clauses, divided according to the moods that vary with the present indicative Afterwards are listed a considerable number of cases concerning dependent (chiefly relative) clauses, the principles at the bottom of both groups are, for the most part, much the same

Present Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

§115 This is by far the most frequent of these interchanges The first persons of the imperative are really subjunctives They involve peculiar conditions as far as the older language is concerned, we may reserve them for the next section As for the other two persons, their readiness to take the place of the indicative calls to mind the fact that thruout Sanskrit literature the impv is in a marked degree a mood of wish as well as command, as when, in contrast with Latin *vivat crescat floreat*, Sanskrit uses the imperative, *jayatu rājā*, or, often, the present indicative, which is equally frequent in the drama (e g *jayati jayati devah*, Śakuntala, ed Pischel, *HOS* 16 v 9 2), thus showing that the 'hortative indicative' is by no means limited to the Vedic language The passive imperative is a favorite means of expressing polite request Speyer, *Ved u Skt Syntax* §192 The sequel will show that the impv encroaches upon the other wish-moods to a larger extent than might be expected in a mood of command Cf Whitney, *Gram.* §§572, 575, Delbruck, *AISynt* 361, Speyer, *op cit* §§188, 192

§116 Here belong, first of all, the dozen cases of interchange between the 2d plural endings *ta* and *tha* which have been considered previously from the phonetic point of view (§§14–19) They are not repeated here The long list of the rest is as follows

kṣatrāṇām kṣatrapatir asi (VS ŚB KŚ *edhi*) VS TS ŚB TB KŚ
 ApŚ 'Thou art (be thou) sovereign lord of sovereignties ' Prayer for a king at his coronation

syonā cāsi suṣadā cāsi VS ŚB 'pleasant art thou and a fair seat', *syonā ca me suṣadā caidhi* TB ApŚ 'be thou pleasant to me and a fair seat ' Addressed to earth

[*pṛṣṭhena dyāvāpṛthivī* (MS adds *āpṛna)*] *antarikṣam ca m bādhase* (MS *bādhasva*, TS *bādhatām*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB 'With thy (its) back thou sunderest (sunder thou, let it sunder) heaven and earth and the atmosphere', or the like Address to one of the altar-bricks

ā rohatho (TS. VS. ŚB *rohatam*) *varuṇa mitra gartam* RV. VS TS MS. KS ŚB N.

(*jātavedasam*) *adhvarānām janayathah* (KS MŚ. °*yatam*) *purogām* KS TB. ApŚ MŚ. To the fire-sticks: 'Ye beget (beget ye' (Agni) as leading-steer of sacrifices'

abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti (and, °*tu*) RV. (both). See §94

somo vīram karmaṇyam dadāti (TB. °*tu*) RV. VS MS TB.

viśvam hi (KS. *ha*) *ripram pravahanti* (MS. °*tu*) *devīh* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS Cf. *viśvam asmat pra vahantu ripram* TS.

dhanuh śatror apakāmam kṛṇoti (MS. °*tu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. 'The bow brings (shall bring) sorrow to the enemy.'

ā devo yātu (MS. MG. *yāti*) *savitā suratnah* RV. MS. KS AB. KB ŚB. TB. MG. AŚ. ŚŚ.

edhante asyā jñātayah RV. AV. ApMB · *edhantām jñātayo ·mama* SMB. PG. HG. MG. Both in wedding rites: '(let) her (my) relations thrive'

viśvā rūpāṇi puṣyata (and, *puṣyasi*) AV (both). See §97.

ekā satī bahudhoṣo vy uchasi (MS. KS *ucha*) TS. MS. KS PG. The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh; uchasi* is thus inconsistent metrically. 'Tho single, O Uṣas, shine (thou shinest) forth in many places.'

bhūte haviṣmaty asi (AV. °*mati bhava*) AV. TS TB.

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ *huto*, v. 1 *huto*) '*si* (MŚ.† *bhava*) TS MŚ.

agnaye tvā mahyam varuno dadātu (MS. °*ti*) VS MS. ŚB ŚŚ —The same with *bṛhaspataye, yamāya, rudrāya.*

tasmin devā amṛtā mādayantām (RV. °*te*) RV. AV. TA

tiṣṭhantu hatavarcasah AV. 'let them stop still, their glory shattered'; *tiṣṭhanti hatavartmanah* N. 'they stand still, their way blocked.'

tveṣas te dhūma ṛṇvati (AV *ūrṇotu*) RV. AV. SV LŚ MŚ. KŚ.

prāno yajñena kalpatām (MS MŚ °*te*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB MŚ. —The same with *āyur, cakṣur, pṛṣṭham, brahmā, mano, yajño, vāg, śrotram,* and *svar.*

ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ °*tā*) MS ApŚ : *avabādhasva pṛtanāyatah* PG.

indreṇa yujā pra mṛṇīta (TB. *sayujā prahītha,* read with Poona ed. *pramṛṇītha*) *śatrūn* AV TB Comm. of TB. *nirākuruta* (impv.).

gharmasyaikā savitaikām ni yachati (MS KS. °*te*, PG. °*tu*) TS. MS KS. PG.

pīvasvatīr jīvadhanyāh pibantu (KSA °*ti*) RV. TS. KSA.

pra stomā yanty (SV *yantv*) *agnaye* RV. SV.

pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān. (AV. *caratu payasvān*) AV. AŚ ŚŚ.

pratīkṣante (ApMB. °*tām*) *śvaśuro devaraś* (ApMB.† *śvaśruvo devarāś*) *ca* AV. ApMB

prati svasaram upa yāti (AV *yātu*) *pītaye* RV. AV

prajānantah prati gṛhnantu (TS KS ApŚ °*ti*) *pūrve* AV. TS KS ApŚ
 MŚ

yajñam hinvanty adribhih RV   *yajñāya santu adrayah* SV.

pūrnām vivaṣṭy (SV °*tv*) *āsicam* RV † 7 16 11b SV MS

pumānsam jātam abhi sam rabhantām (RV °*te*) RV KS TB ApŚ

punāti te parisrutam RV. VS ŚB KŚ   *punātu* etc TS MS KS TB
 ApŚ MŚ

brahma tena punāhi nah (LŚ *mā*, VS KS *puñātu mā*, MS. TB *punī-
 mahe*) RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ . *idam brahma punīmahe* TB

agne dakṣaih punīhi nah (TB *mā;* MS *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB

ā pyāyayantu (N °*ti*) *bhuvanasya gopāh* AV TS MS. KS ŚŚ N

sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan AV . *sarvah sarvā vi caratu pra°* MS

śvahsutyām (MŚ *sadyahsutyām*) *indrāgnibhyām*.. *prabravīmi* (ApŚ
 also, *prabrūtāt*) ApŚ (bis) MŚ KŚ *śvahsutyām vā eṣām
 prabravīm* AŚ   It seems that *prabrūtāt* is used as 1st person, cf
 Whitney, *Grammar* §571b, quoting *jāgṛtāt* AV. 4. 5 7 as the 'only
 case' of *tāt* as 1st person.

ahāny asmai sudinā bhavanti (TB. °*tu*) RV TB

iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG
 'Reveling in foods, lead (we lead) the cow about '

astu hi ṣmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāh* RV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB   'For here, O strong (Indra), is (shall be) thy conciliation '
 On *avayāh* see Neisser, *Z Wbch d RV* , s v

api pūṣā ni ṣīdatu (AV. ŚŚ * °*ti*) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMB HG . *iha
 pūṣā ni ṣīdatu* PG. *rāyas poṣo ni°* ApŚ ApMB   *vīras trātā ni°*
 AB

apah samudrād divam ud vahanti (Kauś °*tu*) AV Kauś

indra tvad yantu (AŚ. ŚŚ *yanti*) *rātayah* SV AŚ ŚŚ

abhi (AV TB *upa*) *pra yantu* (TB AVPpp *yanti*) *naro agnirūpāh*
 RV. AV AVPpp TB N.

indrāpūṣnoh priyam apy eti (MS KSA *etu*) *pāthah* RV. VS TS MS
 KSA ŚŚ

iyam (AB adds *vai*) *pitryā* (AB AŚ ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣtry etv* (AB. AŚ ŚŚ
 ety) *agre* AV AB GB. AŚ ŚŚ —AVPpp agree with AŚ ŚŚ

gharmam śrīnantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ ŚŚ *śrīnanti prathamasya
 dhāseh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

utāditsantam dāpayatu prajānan AV   *aditsantam dāpayati* (TS MS
 °*tu*) *prajānan* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ūrjo bhāgam pṛthivyā yāti (KS *pṛthivīm ety*, ApŚ °*vīm etv*) *āpṛnan* MS
 KS ApŚ

etām sthūnām pitaro dhārayantu (AV °*ti*) *te* RV AV TA.

vṛṣānam yantu (MS *yanti*) *janayah supatnīh* VS MS. KS TB.

indraujaskāraujasvāns tvam sahasvān deveṣv edhi MS : *indraujasvinn
    ojasvī* (VS ŚB *indraujiṣṭhaujiṣṭhas*, VSK *indraujasvann ojasvāns;*
    AŚ. *indra ṣodaśinn ojasvino*, Vait [read] *indra ṣodaśinn ojasvāṅs*)
    tvam deveṣv asi VS VSK TS ŚB AŚ Vait

tiro (RV VS ŚB AG *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA ApŚ *dadhmahe*)
    parvatena RV AV VS ŚB TB TA ApŚ (bis) AG. ApMB
    'Let them block (we block, or hide, remove) death with a mountain '

vi mimīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV · *vi mime ivā payasvatīm devānām*
    TB ApŚ.

śṛnvantu (TS. ŚvetU °*ti*) *viśve amṛtasya putrāh* (AV. *amṛtāsa etat*)
    RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.

śṛnvanty (PB °*tv*) *āpo adha* (PB *'dhah*) *kṣarantīh* RV PB.

śṛta utsnāh (M Ś °*tu*) *janitā matīnām* TB ApŚ. MŚ.

sa no devah śubhayā smṛtyā samyunaktu (MahānU. °*ti*) TA MahānU.

vi (MS KS *pra*) *parjanyah* (RV. °*yam*, TS. °*yāh*) *sṛjanti* (MS. KS.
    sṛjatām) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS

sam aśvaparnāś caranti (MS. °*tu*; AV °*parnāh patantu*) *no narah* RV.
    AV VS TS MS KSA

sa yajñiyo yajatu (AV °*ti*) *yajñiyān ṛtūn* RV ᴀV

sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām KS · *teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti*
    RV VS. TS MS N. In the same verse

sa virājam (KS °*jā*) *pary eti* (MS. *etu*; KS *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS. MS
    KS Cf. *sanemi rājā pari yāti vidvān* VS ŚB.

sa smā kṛnoti (ApŚ °*tu*) *ketum ā* RV ApŚ

sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ † *adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ *si-
    nantu sarve anṛtam vadantam* AV.

pāvamānasya ivā stomena   vīryenot sṛje MS   *pāvamānena ivā stomena
        vīryena devas ivā savitot sṛjatu*   (KS *vīryenoddharāmy asau*)
    TS KS

ketumad dundubhir vāvadīh (AV °*tu*) RV AV. VS. TS MS KSA

ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (AŚ *harito vahantu*) TB. AŚ ApŚ :
    ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS.

ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat pavante (AV °*tām*) RV AV VS KS ApŚ.

āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata HG   *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG . *āpo haviḥṣu jāgṛta*
    ApŚ . *āpo jāgṛta* MS KS MŚ

yamo dadāty (VS ŚB TA and v 1 of AV , see Whitney on 18 1 55,
    °*tv*) *avasānam asmai* RV AV VS ŚB TA · cf *adād idam yamo*
    (VS KS ŚB *adād yamo*) *'vasānam pṛthivyāh* VS TS. MS KS
    ŚB TB. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg* 311

tato dadāti (TB and v 1 of MS. °*tu*) *dāśuṣe vasūni* RV AV ArS
    MS TB.

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB. TB.
    AŚ ŚŚ. But *vanate* may be aor subj , see §§154, 191

devo devān yajatv (ApŚ °*ty*) *agnir arhan* RV ApŚ

dhanvanā yanti (MS. KS *yantu*) *vṛṣṭayaḥ* RV. TS MS KS

devo devānām pavitram asi TS MS KS · *devo devebhyaḥ pavasva* VS.
    ŚB.

dhruve sadasi sīdati (SV °*tu*) RV SV

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK. MS KS
    ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

tasmai sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApŚ *juhomi*) MS KS MŚ ApŚ

patho anaktu (AV. KS. °*ti*, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā·ghṛtena* AV VS
    TS. MS KS.

pātreva bhindan sata eti (AV *etu*, v 1 *eti*) *rakṣasaḥ* RV AV N

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS. TB °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS
    TB ApŚ

pibanti (SV. °*tu*) *varunaḥ kave* RV SV.

madhvā yajñam mimikṣatam (and, °*ti*) RV (both)

mayobhūr vāto abhi vātūsrāh (KSA *vāty usrāḥ*) RV TS KSA TB. ApŚ
    AG

mahyam vātaḥ pavatām (KS. °*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmai*) RV
    AV. TS KS.

mitro nayatu (SV. °*ti*) *vidvān* RV SV AB GB.

yajño devānām praty eti (MS *etu*) *sumnam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB.

yujo yujyante (MS *yuñjantu*) *karmabhiḥ* VS TS MS KSA

āpura stā mā   pūrayata ŚŚ : *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata*   TS AŚ ·
    āpṛno 'si sampṛnah (ApŚ corruptly, *āpṛnoṣi sampṛna*) *prajayā mā
    paśubhir ā pṛna* ŚŚ ApŚ   'Thou art (ye are, be ye) filler(s),
    fill me up' etc

ṛtenāsya nivartaye (MŚ °*ya*), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ °*ya*) TB ApŚ
    MŚ   'By his holy order do I (thou) return' etc

yamam ha yajño gachati (TA °*tu*) RV. AV TA

reto dadhātv (RV. °*ty*) *oṣadhīṣu garbham* RV TB ApŚ

stṛṇanti (RV.* *stṛṇīta*) *barhir ānuṣak* RV (both) SV VS MS KS ŚB.
    TB. ApŚ N

v' śloka etu (AV *eti*; TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)
    sūreh (AV *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāḥ*, KS † *sūraḥ*) RV AV VS TS
    MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

sed agnir agnīñr aty astv (TB *ety*) *anyān* RV AB TB AŚ

anv enam vıprā ṛṣaya madantı (KSA °*tu*) RV VS TS MS KSA

adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣnam astı* (MS *astu*, KS *vrajanam astu kṛṣnam*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

adha pra †*sū na upa yantu* (SV *pıa nūnam upa yantı*) *dhītayah* RV SV

ajīrnā tram jarayası (MS KS *jaraya*) *sarvam anyat* TS MS KS. PG *jarayası* ıs hypermetrıc 'unagıng, thou makest (make thou) age every other thıng ' To Uṣas

agnıs tad vıśvam (AV mss *vıśvād*, so read wıth SPP. and Whıtney Transl) *āpṛnāh* (AV. °*tu*) *vıdıān* RV. AV TS MS KS

te arṣantu te varṣantu L Ś · *te varṣantı te varṣayantı* AV

paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB. Cf *tasyās te sahasrapaṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmı* TS

vıśvasmaı bhūtāyādhvaro (KS MŚ °*ya dhruva*) *astu devāh* (TS °*dhvara* '*sı*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

aśvınā bhıṣajāvatah (MS °*tam*, TB † °*ta*) VS MS TB 'The Aśvıns, physıcıans, do aıd', or, 'O Aśvıns (and Sarasvatī, TB), physıcıans, aıd ye!'

rahantı (AŚ °*tu*) *pūrvyā ruhah* MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ. Cf *tiṣthantı svāruha yathā* TS

samā arṣantı (SV. °*tu*) *vıṣnave* RV SV Cf *samo arṣatı vı*° RV

athāsyaı madhyam ejatu (ŚŚ °*tı*) AŚ ŚŚ. LŚ.

(*parı*) *mahe kṣatrāya* (and, *śratrāya*) *dhattana* AV.· (*parı* .) *mahe rāṣtrāya* (and, *śratrāya*) *dadhması* HG 'Wrap ye (we wrap) this man up unto great kıngshıp (fame) '

kas tvā yunakhı sa tvā yunaktu (VS ŚB. °*tı*) VS TS KSA ŚB. TB. ApŚ

kas tvā vı muñcalı sa tvā vımuñcatı (KSA °*tu*) VS KSA ŚB

stenasyetyām anv ıhı taskarasya (KS °*tyām taskarasyānv ıhı*, TS °*tyām taskarasyānv eṣı*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text, °*nāh*) *śvaśura '*yam astu (AŚ *śvaśuro '*ham asmı) TB AŚ Comm on TB , *yajamānasya sapatnāh śatravah snuṣāvat svādhīnāh santu, ayam tu yajamānah śvaśura 'stu śvaśuravat svāmī bhavatu(* ¹)

layā mā sam sṛjāması HG. ApMB · *layā mām ındra sam sṛja* RVKh See §304

ud ıd vapatu (KS. °*tı*) *gām avım* AV KS MS *tad ud vapatı* etc VS. ŚB *ud ıt kṛṣatı gām avım* TS

tayā (ApMB. *tvayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °*tı*, v l °*tu*) ApMB HG

apa śatrūn vıdhyatām (MS *vıdhyatah*) *samvıdāne* RV VS TS MS KSA. N

traya enām mahımānah sacante (ŚG °*tām*) TS MS. KS ŚG ApMB

trısug (AŚ *trıśrud*) *gharmo vı bhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam ın me vibhātı*) KS TB TA AŚ *tısṛbhır gharmo vıbhātı* MS · *gharmas trıśug vı rājate* (ŚŚ *rocate*) VS ŚB ŚŚ 'The trıple-shınıng hot drınk shınes (shall shıne) for me', or the lıke

asau yaja AŚ *asau yajate* LŚ

ıha sūrya ud etu te AV. *ut sūryo dıva etı* AV. And others, see Conc

anulbanam vayata (KS *vayası*) *joguvām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ

evam garbham dadhāmı (ApMB *dadhātu*) *te* ŚB BṛhU. ŚG ApMB. HG. And others, §302

mahī no vātā ıha vāntu bhūmau AV. *mıham na vāto vı ha vātı bhūma* RV. *āsthāpayata mātaram jıgatnum* AV.· *ā mātarā sthāpayase jıgatnū* RV.

rayım dhattam (and, *dhattha, dhattho*) *vasumantam puruksum* (once, *śatagvınam*) RV (quater) The ınd forms occur ın relatıve clauses, but the ımpv *dhattam* twıce ın prıncıpal clauses. See *RVRep* 149.

anu svadhā cıkıtām (KS °*te*) *somo agnıh* AV KS TB.

te na ātmasu jāgratı (KS † *jāgṛta*) AV KS 'They watch (watch ye) over ourselves' Whıtney consıders emendatıon to *jāgratu*, whıch Ppp reads

ıhaıva rātayah santu (MS. *santı sam yajurbhıh*) VS MS. ŚB TA. ŚŚ LŚ

sarve devā atyāyantı (and, °*tu*) AV. (both) See §94

ısa ūrje pavate (MS *pıpīhı*) VS MS ŚB. And others See also, ın Conc , *adbhyah, oṣadhībhyah, vanaspatıbhyah, brahmavarcasāya, dyāvāpṛthıvībhyām, asmai kṣatrāya, asmaı brahmane, asyaı vıśe, mahyam jyaıṣṭhyāya*, etc , *pavate*, and correspondents. [But I questıon any relatıon here. F E]

aśītıh santv (AV *santy) aṣṭau* RVKh AV. ŚŚ

dakṣınato vṛsabha eṣı havyah (TS. *edhı havyah*, MS KS. *vṛṣabho havya edhī*) AV TS MS KS

parı nah pāhı (*pātu, parı mā pāhı*) *vıśvatah* AV (all). *parı tvā pāmı sarıatah* RVKh

parīdam rājy ajınam (PG °*dam vājınam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG ApMB HG 'Put on, vıgorous, thou yonder, thıs skın', or, 'thıs skın I, vıgorous, put on', or the lıke

tāv ımā upa sarpatah SV. JB.· *emām anu sarpata* MS

anırām apa sedhatı (AG *bādhatām*) AV ŚŚ AG

jaghanān upa jıghnate (MS °*tu*, p p °*tı*) RV VS. TS MS KSA

adhaṣpadaıh kṛnutām (AV · *ı ṛnuṣta*, TS *kṛnute*) *ye pṛtanyarah*, AV. (bıs) VS. TS MS KS ŚB.

devasya yanty ūlayo (KS *yantūlayo*) *vi vājāh* RV. KS.

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo 'sivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahīta*)
   ye asann aśevāh (AV. *aśivāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV AV. (bis) TA.

ā tvā śiśur ā krandatu PG · *enām śiśuh krandaty ā kumārah* ŚG

pātam (TS. *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma* TS ŚŚ.: *pātho ghṛtasya
   guhyasya* (MS. KS. *guhyāni*) *nāma* AV. MS KS.

tataś (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV. *cakṣāthe*, MS. KS. *cakrāthe*)
   adithm ditim ca RV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB

sā (KS. *yā*) *no dadātu* (KS *°ti*) *śravanaṁ pitṝnām* (TS. *pitṛṇām*) TS.
   MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ. N. It is significant that KS, in making the
   clause relative, substitutes an ind for the impv. which is anomalous
   in relative clauses; see §§122 f.

ayam (AŚ. **aham*) *śatrūn* (*śatrūñ*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *jarhṛṣāṇah*
   (AŚ.† **jarhiṣānah¹*); followed in all texts by.

ayam (AŚ. **aham*) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*)
   vājasātau VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis). The first
   person ind. form in AŚ is a conscious *vikāra* of the other.

antarā dyāvāpṛthivī viyanti (MŚ *°tu;* KS. MŚ add *panthānah*) TS. KS.
   SMB. MŚ PG BDh.

tāh sam dadhāmi (KS dadhātu, AŚ KŚ *tanomi*) *haviṣā* (MS. *manasā*)
   ghṛtena TS MS KS. ApŚ AŚ KŚ.

dīrghāyutvāya jaradaṣṭir asmi (MG. *astu*) PG MG. On MG see §323.

[*suṣatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ . *suṣadam id gavām asti pra
   khuda* AV. by R-Wh's emendation, but the mss. agree as to the
   verb forms with ŚŚ]

[*yato bhayam abhayam tan no astu* (AV. ed *asti*, by misprint, see Lanman
   ap Whitney on 19. 3 4) AV. KS TB ApŚ. MŚ.]

[*vahiṣṭhebhir* (MS *bah°*) *viharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona
   ed text *yāsi*, so read) *tantum* RV. MS KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ]

[*grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG.. *grāmam sajānayo gachanti* ApMB †
   (Conc. quotes ApMB as *gachantu*)]

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

§117. This is a much rarer interchange than that between present
indicative and imperative It is quite impossible to feel any distinction
between the two classes; we may conclude that, in this sphere of expres-
sion, impv. and subj perform the same function, even if we suspect, as
we do, that the impv is the milder mood ot the two The following are
instances of the 2d and 3d persons:

agnır no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *rayım* RV SV VS
VSK TS MS KS 'Agnı wins (shall wın) wealth for us' Here
vanute ıs pres ınd , *vansate* aor subj , whıle *vanate* ıs ambıguous,
either the one or the other Cf Neısser, *BB* 7 223f , Oldenberg,
Proleg 289, and above, §10, end

ındro jayātı (MS *jayatı*) *na parā jayātaı* (MS *jayate*) AV TS MS
'Indra shall be (ıs) vıctorıous, shall not be (ıs not) vanquished'

uta prahām atıdīvyā jayātı (AV * °*dīvā jayatı*) RV AV (both) 'More-
over the superıor gamester shall wın (wıns) the stake' *jayatı* ıs
metrıcally ınferıor

tṛnam vasānā sumanā asas (HG *así*) *tvam* AV HG '(O house,)
clothed ın grass (ı e thatched), be thou (thou art) well-dısposed
(towards us)'

vaśī vaśam nayasa (AV *nayāsā*) *ekaja tvam* RV AV 'Thou, sole-born
one, brıngest (shalt brıng) them under control, controllıng' Manyu
'wrath' ıs addressed

adhırājo rājasu rājayātaı (TS °*tı*, MS °*yate*) AV TS MS

sa no jīveṣu ā yame AV *sa no deveṣu ā yamat* RV TA 'He furnıshes
(shall furnısh) us (long lıfe) among the lıvıng (thc gods)' But see
note ın Whıtney's AV 18 2 3, from whıch ıt appears that the true
readıng of AV ıs *yamet*, aor opt , thıs varıant would then belong
ın §169 *yame* as 3d sıng ıs doubly suspıcıous, the present *yamate*
ıs quoted ın Whıtney's *Roots* only from the Epıc and later SPP
wıth many mss reads *yamet*, or rather *yamed* (followed by *d-*).

pra rādhasā codayāte (SV *rādhānsı codayate*) *mahıtvanā* RV SV

rejate (SV *bhyasāt te*) *śuṣmāt pṛthvī cıd adrıvah* RV SV 'The very
earth trembles (shall be afraıd) before thy mıght, O possessor of
the press-stone'

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūryo agre śukro agre tāh prahınomı (Ap Ś
°*hınvo*) MS ApŚ *prahınvah* ıs 2d sıng subj wıth ırregular
(weak) stem, cf Whıtney, *Grammar* §701, end

samjānate manasā sam cıkıtre RV. *sam jānāmahaı manasā sam cıkıtvā*
AV

§118 Rather more frequent are the ınterchanges between the fırst
persons subj and ındıc Thıs ıs obvıously due to the fact that the 1st
person subj forms do duty as ımperatıves, at no perıod ın the language
ıs there any basıs for dıstınguıshıng ımpv and subj ın the 1st person

tayānantam (MŚ. *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ *lokam*) *aham jayānı* (MŚ
jayāmi) AŚ † ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB 'Thru thıs (offerıng) may
I wın endless delıght (heaven)', or, 'thru thee, Agnı, I wın delıght'

brahmāham antaram kṛnve (KŚ *karave* = °*vai*) AV KŚ 'I make (let me make) the charm my inner (defense) ' See §26

(*tenāham asya brahmanā*) *ni vartayāmi* (TB °*ni*, but comm and Poona ed. text °*mi*) *jīvase* TB. ApŚ MŚ. 'By that charm of his I (let me) return to life ' But ApŚ and the comm suggest that Poona ed of TB. is right in reading an indic.

jagatyainam (AŚ erroneously, °*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS KS. °*mi*; AŚ °*ni*) TS. MS KS. AŚ 'With the *jagatī* (meter) we (I, may I) settle him among the clans '

idam aham mām kalyānyai kīrtyai svargāya lokāyāmṛtatvāya (ApŚ. *lokāya*) *dakṣinām nayāni* (ApŚ °*mi*, MŚ *dadāmi*) KB. ŚŚ. ApŚ MŚ . *idam aham mām kalyānyai kīrtyai tejase yaśase 'mṛtatvāyātmānam dakṣinām nayāni* AŚ.

jīvann eva prati tat te (MŚ. SMB v 1 *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi* (MŚ. *dadāmi*, SMB *dadāni*) TA SMB. MŚ But Jörgensen reads *dadāmi* in SMB ; his mss vary.

tam tvendragraha prapadye (ApŚ * *praviśāni*) *saguh* . KS. ApŚ (bis). *taṁ tvā pra padye tam tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguh* . AV.

yad aham devayajanam veda tasmins tvā devayajana ā kṣinomi (SB. *tasmins tvā vṛścāni*) ŚB. ApŚ Acc to Caland on ApŚ 10 2 10, the HŚ reads *āvṛścāmi*

tau saha (VS. ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS. ŚB °*va*, MS °*vah*) VS TS. MS KSA ŚB ApŚ. See comm on TS 7 4 19 1 (note 9 in Weber)

sve loke viśā (MŚ. *viśa*) *iha* TS MŚ. '(May) I enter into my own place here ' The TS strangely accents the form *viśā*.

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS °*tha*) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB

vi sakhyām sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. °*mahai*; MŚ. *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ MŚ PG

§119 The preceding examples still partake of that temperamental distinction between ind and the oblique moods, described above. There are, however, also plain cases of such interchange as when we say in English either 'let me eat', or 'I am going to eat'. For the present is so little of a tense as to be at times a future, again, future and subj. are, especially in Sanskrit, close allies Hence the following cases, which are of course not sharply marked off from the preceding:

(*om*) *un nayāni* AŚ . (*om*) *un nayāmi* KS KŚ ApŚ MŚ. 'I (am going to) ladle out ' And others, see Conc

nihāram ni harāmi (VS ŚB. °*ni*) *te* VS VSK TS KS ŚB

dadāmīty (AŚ *dadānīty*) *agnır vadatı* TB AŚ   'I (am gomg to) give,
saith Agnı '

manaı nu (MS *manve nu,* TS *mandāmı*) *babhrūnām aham śatam dhāmānı
sapta ca* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N   'Of these brown (herbs)
I (am gomg to) declare the hundred powers and seven '   See §§10,
191.

somam te krīnāmy   TS KS : *somavıkrayın somam te krīnānı*   MS
etad (ŚŚ *ıdam*) *vām tena prīnānı* (ŚŚ °*mı,* ApŚ. °*tı,* read °*nı,* Caland
on 2 20 6, n 2) TB ŚŚ ApŚ. Conc quotes *prīnātı* for TB.

Present Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§120 The injunctive, or 'improper subjunctive', is identical in form
with augmentless pretentes of all classes The distinction between
modal value and pretente value is always hard to make, especially
since the Veda abounds with pretente indicatives in quasi-modal use
(§§127ff) Moreover, a large part of the injunctive forms are formally
identical with imperatives, and some of them with optatives, which
further tends to efface the individuality of the injunctive The present
class of interchange is rare in any case In so far as it occurs it puts
the injunctive completely in line with the subjunctive The following
few cases are in a measure supported by some of the same sort in de-
pendent clauses (§125)

pra te dıvo na stanayantı śuṣmāh RV TS   'your lightning (fires, O
Agnı) thunder forth as if from heaven'; *pra te dıvo na stanayanta
śuṣmaıh* MS 'may (your fires) thunder forth as if from heaven
with lightning '

parı ṣvajante (SV. °*ta*) *janayo yathā patım* RV SV AV   'They (shall)
embrace him as wives do their husbands '

ūrdhvas tasthau nem ava glāpayantı (AV °*ta*) RV AV   'He stands
upnght, venly they do not (let them not) exhaust him ' [It has
been argued that] this stanza has a better form in AV than in RV
[See references quoted by Edgerton, *Studıes in Honor of Maurıce
Bloomfield* 128, and note But the contrary view is set forth there
by the writer As to this particular pāda, Ppp agrees with RV
on *glāpayantı,* and is followed by Whitney in his Translation   Cer-
tainly *glāpayanta* is secondary   F E]

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś   *annādam annādyāyādadhe* (KS
annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe) TS KS · *annādam agnım annapatyā-
yādadhe* MS : *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ   *agnım annādam
annādyāyādadhe* VS

Present Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses

§121. The optative, a rather indifferent wish mood, stands, perhaps, more in the center of the entire sphere of modality than any other mood. This accounts to some extent for its survival in the later language as the heir of most of the *modi subjunctivi*. It is, as we shall see (§169), on terms of lively reciprocity with the subj , being, however, rarer than the subj in the metrical parts of the Veda. With the present ind. it alternates only in a moderate number of cases, especially as compared with the impv., cf our remarks on the latter mood above   The present makes here, as usual, the impression of greater certainty or insistence. An occasional precative, interchanging with an indicative, is included at the end of the following list. Noticeable to begin with are half a dozen cases in which indicatives and optatives of the root *hū* 'call' interchange.

marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV † *huvemahi*) RV. SV. '(Indra) with the Maruts do (would) we call unto alliance.'

tam (RV. omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe*, RV. KS. *johavīmi*) RV RVKh AV. TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

agnim (AV *ukthair*, MahānŪ *ugram*) *huvema* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānŪ. 'Agni (the mighty one, with songs) we (would) call from the highest seat.'   AV. is metrically inferior

rtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*) AV. VS TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ

prātaryitam bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N.

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS TB. ApMB.

In these it will be noted that AV markedly prefers the form *havāmahe*. The remaining cases are·

(*asyed indro madeṣv ā*) *grābham gṛbhnāti* (RV *gṛbhnīta*) *sānasim* RV. SV. 'When exhilarated by this very (soma) Indra makes (shall make) a victorious (rich) haul.' *gṛbhnīta* may also be regarded as injunctive or augmentless preterite

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS † *sanāmy agneh*) VS TS MS. KS '(May) I here gain substance, O Agni (KS , Agni's substance) ' The KS variant is interesting, changing the voc to a gen it makes it no longer a direct address to the god, and therefore less in tune with the optative mood

indravanto vanāmahe (PB *vanemahi*) TS PR

viśvair viśvāṅgaih saha sam bhavāmi (AV *bhavema*) AV. MŚ   'I (may
we) come into being with all sound-limbed persons '

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA. ApŚ MŚ   'Both
worlds (may) I obtain '   *sanem* is a strange form, see Whitney,
Roots, s v *san*

idam pitṛbhyah pra bharāmi (TA *bharema*) *barhih* AV TA.

nābhiprāpnoti (MŚ °*pnuyur*) *nirṛtim parācaih* (AŚ   MŚ   *parastāt*)
TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ.

nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ   *kṣeṣam*) TS. MŚ ·
nṛcakṣasam tvā nṛcakṣūh pratīkṣe ŚŚ

haviṣmantah sadam it tvā havāmahe RV VS SMB ŚvetU : *haviṣmanto
namasā vidhema te* TS MS KS TAA   The final pāda of a verse
to Rudra is here modulated in four YV. texts, probably under the
influence of the RV pāda, *haviṣmanto vidhema te*

evam aham āyuṣā   samindhe (SMB *samedhiṣīya*) SMB. PG   'Thus
(may) I become aflame (thrive) with life' etc   Cf with active
(causative) impv , *evam mām āyuṣā   .samedhaya* ApMB HG
'Thus make me thrive with life.'   See §238

yad agneh sendrasya   aham agne sarvavrato bhavāmi svāhā AG   *yad
brāhmanānām   tenāham sarvavrato bhūyāsam* ApMB.

ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo 'smān dveṣṭi etc MS · *idam aham tam
nimṛnāmi yo 'smān dveṣṭi* etc KS   'I (would) crush (here) him that
hates us '

viśvā abhiṣṭīh pṛtanā jayati MS   *viśvā hi bhūyāh pṛtanā abhiṣṭīh* TS.
asminn aham sahasram puṣyāmi ApMB · *asmin sahasram puṣyāsam*
(Kauś *puṣyāsma*) ŚB BrhU Kauś

*Interchange between Present Indicative and various modal forms in de-
pendent (mostly relative) clauses*

§122 The same interchange between present indicatives and various
moods occurs on a smaller scale in dependent clauses, most of which are
relative   The indicative states the fact, the modal forms assume it
with various kinds or degrees of potentiality   The difference is the
same as in principal clauses bluff assumption on the one hand, prayerful
uncertainty on the other   The various moods all figure, but the sub-
junctive is here decidedly the most frequent (see Delbrück, *AISyntax*
317ff), approaching frequently a future value   Imperatives are rare,
and 2d person imperatives seem not to occur at all, cf the shift between
mādayasva svarnare RV 8 103 14, 'delight thyself in the house of
Svarnara', with *yad   mādayāse svarnare*, RV 8 65 2, 'when thou

delightest thyself in the house of Svarnara'; see §95, note 11. Cf. further the variant *sā no dadātu* . , *yā no dadāti* . , §116, end.

Present Indicative and Imperative in dependent clauses

§123 As we have just said, the impv in dependent clauses is rare· it is to some extent supported by injunctive forms, and first person subjunctives, which may equally well be considered imperatives (see below):

(ye) *svadanti* (MS TB. °*tu*, MS p p °*ti*) *devā ubhayāni havyā* (TB. Poona ed absurdly, *havyāh*) RV VS MS. KS TB N. 'The gods who (shall) enjoy both sorts of oblations '

[*yām* (ApMB * *tāni*) *bhadrāni bījāny* (HG. *yāni prabhūni vīryāny*)] *ṛṣabhā janayanti* (HG ApMB * °*tu*) *nah* (AV. *ca*, ApMB.* *nau*) AV ApMB (bis) HG. Only in HG. is the impv. found in a relative clause, ApMB. has *tāni   janayantu nau*, but *yāni.. janayanti nah*. HG. may be a blend of these two 'Which (these) excellent seeds (or the like) bulls (shall) produce for us '   ⏐

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in dependent clauses

§124 In these cases, which are quite common, the subjunctive, as we have observed above, often approaches the sphere of the future.

[*yo no maruto abhi* (AV. KS *yo no marto maruto*, TS *yo no marto vasavo*) *durhṛnāyus*] *tiraś cittāni* (KS ms *cittā*, em. by v Schroeder to *cittāni*) *vasavo jighānsati* (TS. *tirah satyāni maruto jighānsāt*) RV. AV. TS MS KS 'Whatever hostile mortal desires (shall desire) to slay us' etc. The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh,* TS makes this pāda metrically consistent with the rest

yad aham dhanena prapananś carāmi ApMB.· *yad vi devāh prapanam carāma* HG : *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB °*mah*) RV TB. 'O Agni, take note of the oblation which we (shall) offer thee ' See §25.

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah VS TS ŚB. TB · *dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati* VS TS ŚB TB   *yam vayam dhvarāma tam dhvara* (KS *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS. KS. *dhvara dhvarantam yo asmān dhvarāt* MS 'Injure him whom we (may) injure', ' who (shall) injure us', or the like.

yam dviṣmas tam sa ṛchatu RV . *yam dveṣāma tam ṛchatu* AV.

yena yamasya (AV. *yamasya yena,* TB ApŚ *yamasya,* om. *yena*) *nidhinā* (AV. TS TB ApŚ *balinā*) *carāmi* (MS MŚ *carāvah,*

SMB.† *carāni*) AV TS MS TB TA ApŚ MŚ SMB.

devān yajñiyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS.

avasyatam muñcatam yan no ash (AV . *asat*) RV. AV TS MS KS

yas tad veda savituh (MahānU *sa pituh*) *pitāsat* TA. MahānU. *yas*
tāni veda sa pituṣ (VS *pituh*) *pitāsat* AV VS *yas tā vijānāt sa*
pituṣ pitāsat RV AV TA N

yathāham uttaro 'sāni (HG *vadāmi*) AV. HG   'That I may be (speak)
superior '

yo aghāyur abhidāsāt AV . *yo māghāyur abhidāsati* TB

yo na indravāyū mitrāvarunāv   abhidāsati bhrātṛvya   idam aham
tam adharam pādayāmi TS. *yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatno*
bhrātṛvyah   idam etc MS   'The rival who contends (shall con-
tend) against us   him do I here lay low '

yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsād agnim sā ṛchatu MS   *agnim sa ṛchatu yo*
maitasyai (KS † °*syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS ApŚ : *agnim sadiśām*
devam   ṛchatu yo   'bhidāsati TB   The same with *indram*,
marutah, mitrāvarunau, and *somam*

yam sarve 'nujīvāma TS   *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS . *yam bahava upajī-*
vanti AŚ

[*yathāham asyu vīrasya* (AV *eṣām vīrānām*, cf RV 10 174 5c)] *virājāni*
janasya (ApMB *virājāmi dhanasya*) *ca* RV AV ApMB   'That
I (may) control this man (these men) and his (their) folk (wealth).'

rayim yena vanāmahai (SV °*he*) RV SV. 'Thru whom we (may)
obtain wealth.'

yena jayanti (TB *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsai*) AV. TB   '(In-
dra) thru whom men conquer (thou mayst conquer), are (be) not
conquered '

yena bhūyaś caraty ayam, jyok ca paśyati sūryah, tena te vapāmy āyuṣe
MG   *yena bhūyaś carāty ayam, jyok ca paśyāti sūryam, tenāsyāyuṣe*
vapa ApMB   'With (the razor) by which he shall live on and long
behold (be beheld by) the sun, with that I shear thee (shear thou
him unto long life ' And others, see §§330, 337.

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuh*) *sacāvahe* (MS °*hai*, p p °*he*) *yad*
avṛkam purā cit RV MS   But *sacāvahe* may possibly be also subj.,
see § 253   Cf Delbrück, *op cit* 278

In one not certain case we find this interchange in an interrogative
clause which gives the effect of a conditional clause

(*apām napād āśuhemā kuvit sa*) *supeśasas karati* (KS *karoti*, but v l
karati) *joṣiṣad dhi* RV MS KS ApS   'Will the Son of the Waters

adorn (my songs), so as to enjoy them?' That is to say, 'if he
will adorn them, he will enjoy them ' The present *karoti* is secon-
dary, if not corrupt

In a lest clause the same variation occurs (cf. Delbruck 316f ; 545)
mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ °*mi*)
    AV † KS MŚ   'Let him not, implored, abandon me, lest I (may)
    abandon thee !'· *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ.: *mā no*
    hinsīd dhinsito dadhāmi (some mss omit *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi* AŚ

Present Indicative and Injunctive in dependent clauses

§125 The few cases noted of this interchange all show injunctive
forms which are formally indistinguishable from imperatives; and of
course, as usual, they might also be construed as augmentless preterites:
(*hiranyayī aranī*) *yam nirmanthato aśvinā* (ŚB BrhU *yābhyām nirman-*
    thatām aśvinau devau) RV. ŚB. BrhU. ApMB. HG. MG. '(The
    foetus) which the Aśvins drill out with their golden drill', or 'the two
    golden drills with which the Aśvins shall drill out (the foetus)', etc.
yā rājānā (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS.
    yāta· yātha may be merely phonetic, see §21
ubhe yat tvā bhavato rodasī anu (SV. *tvā rodasī dhāvatām anu*) RV. SV.

Furthermore, some variants quoted unde᷄ Present Indicative and
Subjunctive have forms which might be considered 1st person Injunctive
as well as Subjunctive, e g *yam dviṣmas* (*dveṣāma*) etc., see §124.

Present Indicative and Optative in dependent clause

§126 In one somewhat doubtful instance·
yatra devaih sadhamādam madanti (MS TB *madema*) AV. MS TB.
    'Where they revel (we may revel) in common revelry with the
    gods ' Cf *athā* (TB also *yathā*) *devaih sadhamādam ·madema* KS
    TB ApŚ But the comm on AV 18. 4 10 reads *madema,* the
    isolated *madanti* is somewhat suspicious, see Whitney's note

II PRETERITES IN INTERCHANGE WITH MOODS

§127 We have used the term 'temperamental' more than once in the
preceding pages, to describe the uses of the categorical indicative that
really carry within them modal values of various kinds and degrees
The Vedic poets show even greater keenness of feeling in their use of
preterite indicatives where they really experience moods Especially
is this true of the aorist, which is typically used to denote an accom-

plished fact within the range of the speaker's own knowledge, so that
it is a favorite mode of confident assertion, especially of recent events
(Delbrück, *AITempuslehre* 6, Renou 29)   Altho the imperfect, per-
fect, and past passive participle all appear commonly enough in inter-
change with moods, the aorist is the commonest of all   This kind of
aorist, especially common in the literature of magic and conjuration,
has been called with some propriety 'prophetic aorist'   So some texts
say ·
añjasā satyam upāgām MS KS. 'I have speedily attained unto
truth!'
But the majority, nine in number, use an optative aorist ·
añjasā satyam upa gesam VS. TS GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ŚG
'May I speedily attain unto truth!'   And this variant is a valuable
commentary on the aorist indicative of the other texts, it really means
only that such is the speaker's earnest and insistent desire   Or, again,
one text says:
candramā nakṣatrair anu tvāvīt KS. (aor indic), 'The moon with the
constellations has helped thee along '   Another text, using the impera-
tive, says
candramā nakṣatrair anu tvāvatu TB   'Let the moon with the con-
stellations help thee along '
§128 It is worth mentioning that sometimes the same text contains
expressions with both verbal forms   Thus in the reciprocal *ūha* formu-
las ŚB 3. 4 3 9 and 3 6 3 21 *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām*
(*amaṅsta*), 'the Lord of Consecration shall favor (has favored) my
consecration'   Or MS 1 2 14 and 4 13. 8 *pṛthivīm upareṇa dṛnha*
and *pṛ° uparenādṛṅhīt*, 'steady thou (it has steadied) the earth with
thy (its) base.'   These show more definitely how close to each other
are the two types of expression
§129 The considerable list which we have classed as preterites with
and without augment (§§266ff) may also contain some cases in which
the augmentless form is really modal, and thus belong here
As in the case of the present variants, we have separated those which
occur in principal clauses from those in subordinate clauses.

§130 *Aorist Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

sā na āgan (AV *aitu*, KS *seyam āgād*) *varcasā samvidānā* AV. TS KS.
TB · 'She hath come (let her come) to us endowed with luster '
sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
'The eye of Sūrya I have mounted (mount thou) '

sam āpo adbhır agmata VS TS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ   'Waters have com-
mingled with waters' *ṣam āpā oṣadhībhıṣ gachantām* MS.   'Let
waters commingle with plants'

syonām āsadam suṣadām āsadam LŚ   *syonām āsīda suṣadām āsīda* VS.
TS MS KS ŚB. TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ   'I have seated myself (sit
thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat'   See
Conc under each half of the formula

vıṣnus tvākransta (VS ŚB *tvā kramatām*) VS ŚB ApŚ.

śucım te (SV *ca*) *varnam adhı goṣu dīdharam* (SV *dhāraya*) RV SV.

ud asau sūryo agāt RV AV   *ud asāv etu sūryah* TB.

agnır janavın mahyam jāyām ımām adāt Kauś   'Agnı who obtaıns
people hath gıven me thıs woman to wıfe' *agnır janıtā sa me 'mūm
jāyām dadātu* ŚG   'May Agnı the begetter gıve me yonder woman
to wıfe'   Sımılarly wıth *pūṣā jātvın*, and *somo vasuvın (janımān)*

ā tvāhārṣam antar abhūh (RV. AG Rvıdh *edhı*) RV AV. TS VS MS
KS ŚB TB AG Rvıdh   'I have brought thee hıther, thou
hast entered (enter thou) wıthın'

annapate 'nnasya (annasya) no dehı VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB.   ApŚ
MŚ PrānāgU. AG ŚG MG. ApMB.   *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehı*
Kauś : *annasyānnapatıh prādāt* PB

akartām aśvınā lakṣma AV   *kṛnutam lakṣmāśvınā* AV   The second
precedes the first ın the adjoınıng stanza, there ıs thıs tıme a clearly
ıntended dıfference of meanıng   'O Aśvıns, make (the Aśvıns have
made) the mark'   So also ın the next

aśvınā gharmam pātam (MS *pıbatam*)   VS MS ŚB TA. ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ.
(ın the sequel) *apātām aśvınā ghaı mam* VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ . *gharmam
apātam aśvınā* MS TA ApŚ   Delıberate modulatıon wıth change
of sense, as ın prec   ´See §329.

dharmanā vāyum ā vıśa (SV *āruhah*) RV SV.

akaram pūruṣu prıyam RVKh   *karotu pūruṣu prıyam* HG   *pūıuṣu
prıyam kuru* ApMB.   'I have made (let ıt make, make thou)
[me] dear among the Pūrus'   See §302

punah prānah punar ātmā na (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūtam,* TA
punar ākūtam ma, MG *punar ākūtır*) *āgāt* (VS ŚB *āgan,* AV MG
aıtu) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TB TA ApŚ HG MG.

mṛdho vy āsthad abhayam no astu TB   *vy āsthan mṛdho abhayam te
abhūt* AV

janıṣta (TS *janıṣvā,* MS °*ṣva*) *hı jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS MS KS.
'He has been (be thou) born, noble, at the break of days'

anu ma ıdam vratam vratapatır manyatām MS   *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatır*

manyatām (KS °*patayo manyadhvam,* ŚB * °*patır amansta*)   VS
   TS KS GB ŚB. (bıs) Vait.

ıdam varco (AŚ *rādho*) *agnınā dattam āgāt* (AV. *āgan*) AV MS TB
   AŚ   *ā mā varco 'gnınā dattam etu* KS

(*yam kam ca lokam agan yajñas*) *tato me bhadram abhūt* VS ŚB   (*yatra
   kva ca yajño 'gāt*) *tato mā dravınam aṣṭu* SB   *tato mā dravınam aṣṭu*
   (AB *āṣṭa*) VS AB SB ŚŚ   See Conc. under *dıvam tṛtīyam,*
   antarıkṣam tṛtīyam, and *pṛthıvīm tṛtīyam,* with their correspondents
   '(To whatsoever place the sacrifice has gone,) thence welfare has
   come to me (thence let wealth reach me) '

ındro vājam ajayıt TS. TB . *ındra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

annam me purīṣya pāhı (and, *purīṣyājugupah*) Kauś (both)   *annam
   me (no) budhya (budhnya) pāhı tan me (no) gopāyāsmākam punar*
   āgamāt MS ApŚ. *annam me (no) budhyājugupas (budhnyā°) tan*
   me (no) punar dehı MS ApŚ

sapratha (MŚ °*thah*) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ *pāhı,* and '*jugupah*)
   TB ApŚ MŚ (bıs)   *sabhya sabhām me pāhı* AV

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB   *sarvāns tān*
   maṣmaṣā (MS † *mṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS KS † TA   *sarvān nı maṣmaṣā-*
   karam AV   'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS °*gah*) VS MS ŚB   *samsarpa*
   (KS °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ

pṛthıvīm uparena dṛṅha TS MS . *pṛ*° *uparenādṛnhīh* (MS. TB KS.*
   °*hīt*) VS MS KS (both) ŚB TB

varca ā dhehı me tanvam (KS *dhāyı me tanūh*) AV KS   'Set luster ın
   my body', 'My body has been set ın luster'

mayı dhāyı (MS *dhehi*) *suvīryam* MS TB TA

payasvān (TS TB ApMB °*vān*) *agna āgamam* AV VS TS MS KS
   JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB   *payasvān agna āgahı* RV.

tam (TS KS *tam vah*) *suprītam subhṛtam akarma* (KS *abhārṣam,* VS.
   bıbhṛta) VS TS KS   'This (embryo) we (I) have made (maın-
   taıned, maıntaın ye) pleasant and well-maıntaıned (for you) '

abhūr gṛṣṭīnām (with varıants) *abhıśastıpāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV HG.
   ApMB   *bhavā kṛṣṭīnām* (AV mss *gṛ*°) *abhıśastıpāvā* (AV °*pā u*)
   AV PG ApMB HG

devas te savıtā hastam gṛhnātu AV   *savıtā hastam agrahāt* (ŚG. *agrabhīt*)
   AV ŚG SMB. *savıtā te hastam agrabhīt* (AG °*bhād asau,* MG
   agrahīt) AG ApMB HG MG

sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma TB ApŚ · *sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva*
   ApMB. (corruptly, °*dā babhūva*) 'HG   *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB.
   °*dā*) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś ApMB SMB

paśūn me (ApŚ * *nah*) *śansya pāhi* MS ApŚ MŚ.: *paśūn me* (ApŚ.*
nah) *śansyājugupah* (ApŚ. °*jūg*°) MS ApŚ MŚ And other
formulas in the same passages

§131. *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

jeṣah (and, *jeṣat, ajaih*) *svarvatīr apah* R̥V (all). 'Thou shalt win (he
shall win, thou hast won) the waters rich in light' See *RVRep.*
39

ā dadhnah kalaśair (ApMB °*śīr*, MG °*śam*) *aguh* (AG. ApMB. *ayan;*
ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG. *ayann iva*, MG *airayam*) AV AG. ŚG.
PG. HG ApMB. MG. 'With mugs of sour milk they have (shall)
come', or the like

ānyāvākṣīd (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāni* VS. TB 'The other hath
brought (shall bring) boons and treasure'

vṛṣāva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV · *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV   The
RV forms are counted as perfect subjunctives, see §272

sakhāya ā śiṣāmahi (AV SV °*he*) RV AV. SV AA ŚŚ AŚ

Aorist Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§132 If the injunctive forms varying with presents (above) and
with other modal forms (below) are apt to be doubtful because also
interpretable as augmentless preterites, this is *a fortiori* true of such as
vary with augmented past forms   There is, indeed, really nothing that
can decide in such a case, whether to regard the augmentless form as a
preterite or an injunctive, since, as we have now abundantly seen, the
'true' preterites may be used just as well as modal forms in any situa-
tion   Hence, we have preferred to keep most such interchanges in one
group, and have classified them below under augmented and augment-
less preterites (§264ff), in this place we add merely one or two instances
chosen on more or less subjective grounds, which seem rather more
likely than most to contain modal value

anu (MS adds *mām*, TA *vām*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* (MS adds *anu me) aman-*
sātām (TA also *mans*°, MS '*mansā*°, p p *amansā*°) VS MS ŚB
TA (bis) ŚŚ LŚ 'Heaven and earth have favored (shall favor)
me' In adjoining passages in TA

pūṣā mādhāt (AV *mā dhāt*, MS *nā ādhāt*) *sukṛtasya loke* AV. TS MS
KS 'Pūṣan hath placed (shall place) me in the world of pious
deed'

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB '*dhvara āsthāt*, KS '*dhvare s'hāh*, ApŚ
adhvare sthāt) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The sacrifice has stood

straight' 'stand thou upright on the sacrifice '   On ApŚ 's read-
ing see §337

pra tāry (TS *prātāry*) *agne prataram* (TS °*rām*) *na āyuh* RV TS MS.
KS ApŚ   'O Agni, may our life be (our life has been) extended
further '

§133 *Aorist Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses*

devasya (*devasyāham*, VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh prasave* (*save*)
ruhcyam (GB *rohcyam*, VSK *ruhema*) VS VSK TS MS KS
GB ŚB TB Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ   *aruham* VS ŚB   *aruhāma*
VSK

āditya nāvam ārukṣah (AVPpp *āruham*, SMB *ārokṣam*) AV SMB
sūrya nāvam ārukṣah AV *imām su nāvam* (read, *sunāvam?*) *āruham*
TS KS ApŚ   *sunāvam āruheyam* VS   'O sun, thou hast (I have)
mounted the ship', 'I have mounted (may I mount) this good
ship '

upānśunā sam amṛtatvam ānaṭ (ApMB *aśyām*) RV VS MS KS TA.
MahānU ApŚ ApMB   'By the (soma) plant he hath reached
(may I reach) immortality '

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* TS KS PG   '(Agni) the
all-possessing has become in a good humor towards me', *bhūyāsma
te sumatau viśvavedah* (so MS intends, by its regular sandhi, text
°*dā,* followed by vowel) MS   'May we be in thy favor, O all-pos-
sessing (Agni) '   Cf the item *bhūyāsma te sumatau*   in Conc

tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB *asthām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ
'May I attain (I have reached) that dear place of his '   But
Poona ed of TB , text and comm , reads *aśyām*

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ °*śunā*) KS
ApŚ   But von Schroeder reads in KS *grāvā vaded*, with v 1
grāvāvādīd

§134 *Aorist Indicative and Future in principal clauses*

agnim sve yonāv (VSK MS KS *yonā*) *abhār* (ApŚ *yonau bhariṣyaty*)
ukhā VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ   'The pot hath borne
(shall bear) Agni in her own womb '

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai PG   *paridhāsye yaśo dhāsye* MG   *parīdam
vāso adhithāh* (HG *adhidhāh*, ApMB *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV HG
ApMB. The forms -*dhāsyai* (-*dhāsye*) are uncertain, perhaps
infinitives   See §177

tvām eva pratyakṣam brahma vadiṣyāmi (and, *brahmāvādiṣam*) TA TU
(both in each)

§135. *Aorist Indicative and Desiderative in a principal clause*

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ. *alipsata*) AB. ŚŚ. 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among śūdras' *alipsata* imperf. desid.; *alapsata*, 3 pl. aor. ind.; Keith on AB. 7. 17. 3 suggests reading *alapsyata*, conditional.

§136 *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

mahyam āpo madhumad erayantām (KS. *airayanta*) AV. KS. Kauś. 'To me the waters shall send (sent) what is sweet.'

pṛṣiheṣv erayā (SV *airayad*) *rayim* RV. SV.

praty auhatām (MS. *ūhº*) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmat*) AV. VS. TS MS KS 'The Aśvins swept (shall sweep) away death from him (us).' *ūhatām* may, of course, be augmentless imperfect, or injunctive

tvām gāvo 'vṛṇata rājyāya TS MS.· *tvām viśo vṛṇatām rājyāya* AV. 'Thee the cows (clans) chose (shall choose) for kingship'

pāhi (TS ApMB *āvah*) *kṣema uta yoge varam nah* RV. TS. PG. ApMB. MG.

sam devī (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS. °*orvaśyākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

vapām te agnir iṣito arohat (TS. *iṣito 'va sarpatu*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

vy uchā (and, *aucho*) *duhitar divah* RV SV. (both in both texts).

asmān rāya uta yajñāh (KS † *yajñah*) *sacantām* TS. KS ApŚ . *asmān rāyo maghavānah sacantām* RV VS MS KS ŚB. ŚŚ : *yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata* MS

āsann ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °*tu*) *devāh* RV. VS. TS MS KS *janayanta* may be, less probably, injunctive

dīkṣāpālāya vanatam (PB °*pālebhyo 'vanatam*) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ   But see §266

uṣnena vāya udakenehi (SMB GG *udakenaidhi*, ApMB *vāyav udakenehi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG. ApMB. MG. 'With warm water come, O Vāyu (Vāyu came, or the like) '   But the MG reading is a more than dubious imperf , if not merely corrupt, it is likely that it contains the particle *id*

sarasvatyā (AV. °*tyām*) *adhi manāv* (AV. *manāv*, read *manāv*; KS *mānā*, SMB *vanāva*) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS *acakṛṣuh*, SMB. *carkṛdhi*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG '(This barley) they have plowed (plow thou) on the Sarasvatī (for Sarasvatī) in behalf of Manu', or the like   But Jorgensen, text and comm , reads *manāv*

acakṛṣuh for SMB; and KS has a v l. *manā acarkṛṣuh.* Probably these are the true readings

§137. *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

ā vo rohito aśṛnod abhidyavah (AV *°tah śṛnavat sudānavah*) AV. TB. 'Rohita listened (shall listen) to you, heavenly (liberal) ones '

jātah pṛchad (SV *pṛchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV   'As soon as born he asked (shall ask) his mother.'   Cf *vi pṛchad iti mātaram* RV. See §9

pibāt somam amadann (AV *somam mamadad*) *enam iṣlayah* (AV *iṣṭe*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May he drink the soma, the sacrifices have exhilarated him (may it exhilarate him at the sacrifice) '

ayann (TB *āyann*) *arthāni kṛnavann apāṁsi* RV. KS TB ApŚ   The parallel *kṛnavan* is a guarantee of the secondariness of *āyann* (or is the preverb *ā* contained in it?)

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāh RV   *turaś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān* AV   The latter is grossly corrupt

yo mā dadāh sa id eva māvāh (ArS NṛpU *māvat*) ArS TB. TA TU NṛpU N 'Who gives me, he verily shall help (? has helped) me '   The form *avāh* or *āvāh* is very obscure and probably harbors a corruption   TB comm *āvṛnoḥ* (apparently understanding it as a 3d sing *s*-aor of *ā-vṛ*), TA comm *avati*, taking it from *av*, but without any suggestion as to how the form is understood   A 3d person seems required

§138 *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause*

apah prerayam (SV *prairayat*, TB *prairayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV SV TB 'Let me send (he, or they, sent) forth (songs as) water from the basin of the ocean '   See §323   But *prerayam* may be indicative.

§139 *Perfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

ni hotāram viśva·idam dadhidhve RV   *ni hotāram gṛhapatim dadhidhvam* SV 'Ye have established (Agni) as all-wise hotar', 'establish ye (perfect imperative) as hotar and house-lord.'

sa nah pito (¹) *madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś (secondary), 'This honeyed food hath entered us', *sa nah pito madhumān ā viśeha* KS 'O food, enter us here, honeyed' *sa no mayobhūh pito āviśasva* (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav āvi°*, AŚ *pitav āviśeha*) TS TB AŚ ŚG SMB PG   See §69

ireva dhanvan nı jajāsa te vıṣam AV   'Like fluıd on a waste hath thy
poıson dısappeared'; *sarve sākam nı jasyata* RV   'Do ye all to-
gether dısappear.'   The parallel ıs remote except for the use of the
verbs

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °*dadhe*)   KS ApŚ

rudro vasubhır ā cake (TS. *cıketu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB   'Rudra with
the Vasus hath loved (shall attend to) us.'

§140   *Perfect Indıcatıve and Subjunctıve ın prıncıpal clauses*

(ın half the cases, the subjunctıve ıs from a perfect stem)

sa vıśvā pratı cāklpe AV.· *sa vıśvam pratı cāklpat* AŚ   ŚŚ.   'He hath
shaped himself ınto (he shall shape) everythıng'

vavakṣa (SV. °*kṣat*) *sadyo mahı dūtyam caran* RV SV   'He (Agnı) hath
grown (shall grow) straıghtway, goıng upon hıs great mıssıon'
But SV. may be regarded as augmentless pluperfect

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*) AV. AA ŚŚ   'He
is not to be dared agaınst, (hıs might) dares (shall dare)'   *dadhṛ-*
ṣate ıs perfect subjunctıve   *dadharṣayā* appears to be a perfect from
the causatıve stem, used ın prımary sense, see §241.   Cf Whıtney
on AV 6 33 2 and Keıth on AA 5 2 1. 3

manhıṣtho gırbhır ā ca yajñıyo vavartat (SV. *vavarta*) RV. AV. SV. TB.
'(Indra) most lıberal, fit for sacrıfice, (ınduced) by our songs, shall
turn (has turned) hıtherward.'   Poona ed of TB *'vavartat*, as ıf
pluperfect

sa no nedıṣtham (TS MS °*ṣthā*, VS ŚB *vıśvānı*) *havanānı joṣat* (TS
joṣate, MS *havanā jujoṣa*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB *joṣat* and *joṣate* are
both aor subj

anyad yuṣmākam antaram babhūva (TS *bhavātı*) RV VS TS. MS. KS.
N   'Somethıng else has arısen (shall arıse) between you'

ayasā havyam ūhıṣe ApŚ ApMB HG.· *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*,
and so ApMB comm explaıns, KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*)
havyam ūhıṣe MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ. ApMB ApŚ Kauś HG
ayā no yajñam vahāsı KŚ   'Beıng nımble thou hast carrıed the
oblatıon (carry the sacrıfice).'

sarvam āyur vy ānaśe (MS *aśnavaı*) MS TB ApŚ *vıśvam āyur vy*
aśnavaı (AV mss *aśnavat*) AV. VS KS TB   *dīrgham āyur vy*
aśnavaı PG   In AV. the vulgate reads *aśnavam;* Whıtney, on 19.
55 6, would read *aśnavan,* the readıng of the mss may be kept
(subject *sabhā*).   The context ıs dıfferent from the others

§141 *Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause*

karṇābhyām bhūri vi śruvam (PG *bhūri śuśruve*) TA TU PG —TA.
comm *śrūyāsam*   'Ma. I hear (I have heard, or I hear) abun-
dantly with my ears'

§142. *Perfect Indicative and Optative in principal clauses*

stotāram id didhiṣeya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV AV SV.   'To the
poet, verily, I should wish to share out wealth, O opener of wealth!'
didhiṣeya is opt of desiderative. The SV form is very obscure,
Benfey (Glossar, p 101) follows the comm in taking it as 1st
person aor subj , but it seems more likely to be felt as a perfect
ind , to be sure of anomalous formation (presumably quasi-desidera-
tive)   Cf. *gṛṇīṣe* of RV., treated by Whitney, *Roots*, as pres ind
Both forms must in any case be 1st person
parāvata (MS. °*tā*) *ā jagantha* (AV *jagamyāt*, TS *jagāmā*) *parasyāh*
RV. AV SV. VS. TS MS KS *jagamyāt* is perfect opt.
indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśyām (RV *ānaśa*) RV TB ApŚ   'Ye
have obtained (may I obtain, aor opt) the friendship of Indra (and)
immortality'   Different contexts, in RV. in a relative clause,
addrest to the Aṅgirases.

Past Passive Participles interchanging with moods in principal clauses

§143 The same contrast, namely between more or less assumed
confidence of statement and mere desire, is brought out by the inter-
change between a perfect passive participle, with or without copula, and
a mood.   The participle is thus pretty precisely in the place of the
prophetic aorist   It is worth noting in this connection that the same
participle also interchanges commonly with a present indicative (§246).
For instance
yunajmi vāyum antarikṣena (PB *yukto vāto 'ntaᵃ*) *te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha*
TS PB ApŚ MŚ   'I yoke (yoked is) the wind with atmosphere for
thee (or, with this atmosphere) '
Here the participle states the fact as accomplished in the strained sense
of the prophetic aorist, while the present indicative has future modality
of a lighter quality, optatival, or the like   In essence such interchanges
belong, for the most part, in the same sphere as the group now dealt with.
By the same token modal value lurks often in the passages of present and
past indicatives interchanging, §§221ff

§144. Following is the brief list of past participles exchanging with moods (see also §104, w), all the modal forms are imperatives but the last, an injunctive

sam barhir aktam (VS ŚB. *añktām*, TB ApŚ *sam añktām barhir*) *haviṣā ghṛtena* AV. VS ŚB TB. ApŚ. 'The barhis has been anointed (shall anoint itself, i e be anointed, see §87) with oblation, with ghee ' And, in the same stanza:

sam devaiṛ viśvadevebhir aktam AV : *sam indrena viśvebhir devebhir* (VS ŚB *indro viśvadevebhir*) *añktām* VS ŚB TB ApŚ. Cf prec.

tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (HG. *cendhi*) AG. HG. 'By this (firewood) burn and grow, thou that art kindled (and kindle!) '

ghṛtena sītā madhunā samaktā (VS MS KS ŚB. *samajyatām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB. 'With ghee, with honey, the furrow has been (shall be) anointed.'

tan me rādhyatām (TB * SMB * *samṛdhyatām;* VS * TS * TA * *'rādhi;* Kauś * *samṛddham,* and *rāddham*) VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ Kauś SMB All texts have *rādhyatām*, besides the variants as quoted 'May this succeed (this has succeeded) for me '

tān sma mānuvaṣatkṛthāh AŚ *ete nānuvaṣatkṛtāh* Vait. 'Do not say *vaṣaṭ* after these', 'these are not followed by *vaṣaṭ.*'

Interchange between Preterites and Modal forms in dependent and pro-hibitive clauses

§145 In quite a number of cases preterites of all sorts and modal forms interchange in dependent clauses We have quoted above (§99) an example from the RV itself. *yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā* 4. 42 6, *yan mā somāsa ukthino amandiṣuh* 10 48 4 The tense commonly remains unchanged, but sometimes, as in the case just quoted, it is shifted without any restriction The present class of variants does not differ in any essential from the group of interchanges between presents and modal forms in dependent clauses, §§122ff. We have included here a few cases of interchange between augmented and augmentless pre-terite indicative forms, they differ from the similar cases quoted below §268 only in so far that, on subjective grounds, there seem to us to be reasons for finding injunctive force in the augmentless forms quoted here But no clear line can be drawn between the two groups, and perhaps it would have been better not to try to separate them, at least each must be considered together with the other

(a) *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive*

yas tvā karad ekavṛṣam janānām AV 'who shall make thee chief bull of
the people', *sa tvākar ekavṛṣabham svānām* TB. 'he has made thee
chief bull of thy kinsmen '

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā, and   *yan mā somāsa ukthino aman-
dişuh* RV. (both)   See §99

(b) *Aorist Indicative and Injunctive*

bhūyāṅso bhūyāsta ye no bhūynso 'karta MS 'be ye more, ye who have
made us more', *bhūyānso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasah kārşta* Kauś
'may we be more, and likewise ye who shall make us more ' But,
of course, *kārşta* may be a mere preterite in force —The same with
annādā bhū°

(c) *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative (? Injunctive)*

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padāni) yopayanto yad atta* (TA *atma,* AV *yopa-
yanta eta,* MG *lopayante yad eta*) RV AV TA MG   'When ye
(we) came (come ye, AV , when ye shall come? MG) effacing the
track of death ' AV., which lacks the conjunction *yad,* has clearly
imperative, MG. is probably corrupt in *yad eta,* but *eta* may be
understood as injunctive, or even anomalously as imperative, cf.
§123; probably, however, read *etad* in MG , see §307

(d) *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive*

(*yam agne pṛtsu martyam) avā* (TS *āvo) vājeşu yam junāh* RV SV TS
MS KS. ŚB   'The mortal whom thou, Agni, shalt (didst) protect in
battles, shalt promote in contests ' Note that all texts agree on
junāh, which may be felt either as subj or as augmentless imperfect

[*yad adya hotṛvarye* (ŚŚ *°vūrye)] jihmam cakşuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ *°tāt*) ŚB.
ŚŚ ApŚ 'What today at the choice of *hotṛ* has escaped (may
escape) the crooked (=faulty) eye '

yad vāskandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra Kauś 'or what part of the oblation
has dropped anywhere'. *yad vā skandād ājyasyota viṣno* TS KS
'moreover what part of the butter shall drop, O Viṣnu '

ahā yad dyāvo (AV. *devā) asunītim ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV. *ayan* seems
most simply to be taken as subjunctive, rather than augmentless
imperfect to present *ayati*

[*tisro yad agne śaradas tvām* ic] *chucim ghṛtena śucayah saparyān* (TB.
°yan) RV TB   See §8

(e) *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive*

śatam yo nah śarado 'nayat (MŚ *nayat*) KS MŚ   'Who has brought
(shall bring) us to a hundred autumns ' Favorable to injunctive
interpretation are the readings of the parallel texts TS has an
adjective *ajūtān* for (*a)nayat;* the verb *neşat* occurs in the following

pāda, as it does also in SMB. PG. The Conc. reading for SMB is *ajīyāt*, glossed *ajījanat*, but Jorgensen's edition gives *ajīyāt*, glossed *ayyāt (aja gatiḥṣepanayoh; ..gamayatv ity arthah)* PG has *jījān* (Stenzler. 'der uns hundert Jahre schaffc') All these parallels suggest that even KS. probably has distinctly modal force in its *'nayat*, and the habits of Indian mss compel us to consider the writing of *avagraha* in its text of very dubious authority; possibly *nayat*, injunctive, may be even KS's real reading

(f) *Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive·*

yat te grāvnā cichiduh (MŚ *vichindat*) *soma rājan* TB Vait MŚ 'What with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off of thee, King Soma' *vichindat* is apparently pres subj made irregularly from the weak stem, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §687

yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS † *sāsāhat*) *sadane kamcid atrinam* RV. SV. KS 'Which shall (has) overcome every demon in his home.'

Augmentless and Augmented Prohibitives with mā

§146 In a few cases prohibitives, normally augmentless aorists, vary with augmented forms of the same or a similar tense-system; there is no room for change of meaning Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §579c. The type of augmented prohibitive lasts into Pāli, or is resumed there secondarily, see Jātaka 439 (Fausböll IV. 1, line 15), *mā maṁ kiñci avaca*, 'do not tell me anything'

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat ViDh. MDh. YDh. BṛhPDh. AuśDh : *śraddhā me mā vyāgāt* ApŚ

ganān me mā vi tūtṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ : *ganān me mā vy arīriṣah* Vait : 'Do not make thirsty (injure) my troops.'

mā nah param adharam mā rajo 'naih (MŚ.† *param adhanam mā rajo naih*) TA MŚ *mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih* (corrupt) MS. Both editions of TA agreeing on *'naih* with *avagraha*, but little importance is probably to be attached to this, cf §265

mā no rudro (MS *agnim*, p p *agnih*) *nirṛtir mā no astā* (MS *na āstān*, followed by *m-*, p p *āṣthāṁ*) MS. TA Both forms are dubious, but TA apparently understands an augmentless 3d sing. mid of *as* 'throw' (comm *asyatu*), while MS seems to understand an augmented form of *aś* 'attain' (or, in spite of the p p , the prefix *ā* may be contained)

§147. There is a single somewhat grotesque case of interchange between *Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in prohibitive (mā) clause:*

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV *ke cid vi*) *yaman vim* (SV *ke cin ni yemur in*, TA
ke cin nyemur in [v. l , and comm , as SV , so read or understand
TA]) *na pāśinah* RV AV SV VS. TA   'Let not any hold thee in
check as fowlers a bird '   SV and TA are corrupt   *yemur* really
belongs to a parallel categoric construction with *na*, rather than
mā.   See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 283.

INTERCHANGES BETWEEN THE MOODS PROPER

§148 We now come to interchanges between the true or 'oblique'
moods themselves, after sketching in the preceding pages their relation
to the various indicatives   The reference-works on Sanskrit syntax
define each mood by itself; they hardly attempt seriously to mark off
the territory of one mood as compared with another   And this is wise
All the authorities recognize the freedom and indefiniteness of the use
of moods   The impv , e g , is a moderate mood of request, it includes
not only command but instruction, advice, wish, and prayer, thus cover-
ing most of the sphere of the other moods   It would serve no useful
purpose for us here to follow in the footsteps of the syntacticians and
define precisely the uses of each modal category (see in general, and
most conveniently, Delbrück, *Vergl Synt. d idg Sprachen 2* 346ff).
Rather do the following lists show the constancy of transition from one
to another, than the peculiar function of any one of them   They
represent links in a chain of modality which is scarcely broken by any
peculiar use reserved for any one of them   We have also seen (§105)
that tense-distinctions in the moods abound, but are totally without
significance.   Pres subj. and aor subj are quite identical, precative
(aor opt) has in the Veda purely optative value which does not in the
least account for the aoristic element in its make-up   Even the pro-
hibitive use of the injunctive with *mā* occasionally (tho very rarely)
yields to that of the imperative or even optative (§§159, 174, end)
Nor is the preference for aorist, rather than present (imperfect), in-
junctive by any means a settled fact, as far as the Veda is concerned
(§211)   As far as we can observe, any one of the true moods may inter-
change with any other, certainly in principal sentences, but also to a
considerable extent in subordinate clauses

III. IMPERATIVE IN EXCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§149 The imperative, in addition to its very frequent reciprocity
with indicatives (already treated), interchanges with subjunctive,

injunctive, optative, precative, future, and infinitive. This order is
followed in the sequel In addition, the class of mixed imperative-
subjunctive forms, treated below (§173), contains cases which involve
not only the proper subj , but also those mixed forms which are part
impv and part subj. And the second person modal forms in *si* and
se (§§164f), themselves classed as imperatives, alternate with regular
impv forms Finally the impv. is used also, tho very rarely, as pro-
hibitive with *mā*, exchanging with prohibitive injunctives (§159).

§150 The impv. in *tāt* shows in these interchanges a character in no
wise different from that of the ordinary impv. See the relation of RV.
1. 48 15 to 8 9 1, described above, §100, and several examples under
the heading 'Instances of more than two modal varieties', §104. Cf.
also the section on Imperatives in *tāt* exchanging with other Imperatives,
§254.

Imperative and Subjunctive

§151 It will be convenient to assort this large group into three
subdivisions. Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or
person; without change of tense but with change of person, and with
change of tense, with or without change of person

§152 *Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person*

ādityās tad añgirasaś cinvantu TB : *viśve devā añgirasaś cinavan* KS.
    ApŚ 'May the Ādityas (All-gods) and Añgirases pile (that).'
svāduḥ pavāte (SV. *pavatām*) *ati vāram avyam* RV SV 'May the sweet
    (soma) strain itself thru the wool '
sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ *sā samnaddhā
    sanuhi vājam emam* (MG *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG.
sviṣṭim nas tām (AV erroneously, *tān*) *kṛṇavad* (TS *kṛṇotu*) *viśvakarmā*
    (MS *tām viśvakarmā kṛṇotu*) AV. TS. MS
sa no mṛdātīdṛśe RV. AV. TS MS KS ApMB N.. *te no mṛdantu īdṛśe*
    AV (*vikāra* of the prec , used in same hymn): *tā no mṛdāta* (VSK.
    mṛl°) *īdṛśe* RV. SV VS VSK TS. KS.
vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu AV.: *vāiśvānarah pavayān naḥ pavitraih*
    TA
te no rayim sarvavīram ni yachān (HG *yachantu*) AV HG
agnir havyam (RV. KS. *havih*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV.
    VS TS MS KS.
ā sīdāti (SV. °*atu*) *kalaśam devayur nah* (SV. *deva induh*) RV. SV.
sarvam punatha (VDh. *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh ViDh.

sarvam punatha me yavāḥ BDh · *tat punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*)
  yavā mama ViDh
iṣṭāpūrte (KS. °*tam*) *kṛṇavāthāvir* (VSK ŚB. *kṛṇavathāvir*, TS KS
  TB MŚ *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS KS. TB.
  ŚB MŚ · *iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛṇutāvir asmai* AV.
punas te prāṇa āyāti (AŚ °*tu*, TS † *āyati*) TS TA AŚ
brahmadviṣaṁ dyaur abhisaṁtapāti AV · *brahmadviṣam abhi tam śocatu*
  dyauḥ RV.
vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB
  bhṛjāsi, v. l *bhajasi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB HG. ApMB
  The HG reading is uncertain, see Whitney on AV 19 24 6
mama cittam cittenānvehi HG · *mama cittam upāyasi* AV   For other
  similar items see Conc
tābhir vahainam (TA *vahemam*, TB ApŚ *vahāsi mā*, om *tābhir*, KS.†
  vahānsi sā! [read probably *vahāsi mā*]) *sukṛtām yatra* (RV AV
  °*tām u*) *lokāḥ* (KS *lokaḥ*, RV AV *lokam*) RV AV KS. TB TA
  ApŚ
śivaḥ śagmo bhavāsi naḥ TB. ApŚ   *śivā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB. ApŚ
jarām (AV. adds *su*) *gachāsi* (AVi PG *gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsaḥ* AV
  PG ApMB HG.
sa gharmam invāt (AV *indhām*) *parame sadhasthe* RV AV
idam me karmedam vīryam putro 'nusamtanotu VSK KŚ   *idam me*
  'yam vīryam putro 'nusamtanavat ŚB
saputrikāyām jāgratha PG · *yajamānāya jāgṛta* ApŚ
nihāram ca harāsi (VSK °*raṁ niharāsi*) *me* VS VSK. ŚB . *nihāram in*
  ni me hara (TS † *harā*) TS KS
jyok pitṛṣv āstām (and, *āsātai*) AV. 'Sit she long with her fathers.'
  Both in the same hymn; a conscious *vikāra*
uṣā no ahna ā bhajād (and, *ahne pari dadātu*) AV (both)
śravad (and: *śrutām*, *śravan*) *brahmāny āvasā gamat* (and· *gatām*, *gaman*)
  ŚŚ (all)   'Let him (them) hear the holy words and come with aid '
  Here belongs also, presumably·
edhasva yamarājasu AV · *edhāsaṁ yamarājye* TA   The comm on
  edhāsam says, *edhasva vardhasva* (!). The Conc suggests *edhāse*,
  both versions would then mean, 'thrive thou in the kingdom of
  Yama (among those whose king is Yama) '

Imperative and Subjunctive, without change of tense but with change of
                        person

§153 The particular interest of this subdivision is that 2d person
imperatives vary constantly with 3d person subjunctives   This alter-

nation goes back to RV. itself, see §§93, 95 Metrical convenience is often associated with the shift. A few examples of change of person also occur in the next subdivision.

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV °*vah*) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS °*yāti*) RV. AV. VS 'Fashion (or, may he fashion) the body (bodies) according to his will' The impv. *kalpayatu* would be metrically inferior.

sa no vasūny ā bhara (SV *bharāt*) RV SV AV. VS TS. MS KS 'bring (let him bring) wealth to us' Cf *sa no viśvāny ā bhara* RV. The impv *bharatu* would be hypermetric

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (AV *bhaveha*) AV. TS. MS 'That he may be (be thou here) an object of attention and homage.'

pavamāno vy aśnavat (SV °*na vy aśnuhi*) RV SV.

indrāya pathibhir vahān (MS *vaha*) VS. MS KS. TB.

iha sphātim sam ā vahān (and, *vaha*) AV (both)

bodhā stotre vayo dadhat (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV SV ApŚ.: *bodhāt stomair vayo dadhat* MS There is a v l *bodhā* in MS. See §§24, 341.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG *āyur no viśvato dadhat* AV.

tān ādityān anu madā (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. See §315. The reading of MS is uncertain, its p p. has *mada*, if this is the true reading the variant belongs here, if *madā* is 1st pers subj; but it may also be 2d sing impv (so RV. p p).

niṣīdan no apa durmatim jahi (TS *hanat*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB.

pibatam somyam madhu RV (quinquies) SV *pibāh so° ma°* RV. (semel) SV

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ.

The following two contain corruptions.

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya;* MS *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS TA AV has a clear subjunctive, TA's form may possibly be understood as a 2d impv, thematic, MS is hopelessly corrupt

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB, as Kirste says ad loc

§154 *Imperative and Subjunctive with change of tense*

apeyam rātry uchatu AV 'let this night fade away', *aped u hāsate tamah* RV 'now may darkness slink away'

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ But *vanate* may be pres ind, see §116, 191

so 'dhvarā karati jātavedāh AB *kṛnotu so adhvarāñ* (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS. MS KS TB ApŚ 'Let Jātavedas perform the

sacrifice.' Cf. *kṛṇutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ , and *svadhvarā* etc in RV., §95

prabudhe nah punas (KS *puras*) *kṛdhi* (TS *punar dadah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Make us again awake', or the like

sampriyah (TA °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhuvat* (MS ApŚ *bhava*) MS TB TA ApŚ

mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditih śarma yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB

sammiślo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV

sa nah pūrnena vāvanat (AV *yachatu*) AV TS KS ApMB

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

rayim ca nah sarvavīram (TS † °*rām*) *ni yachatu* (AV *yachāt*) AV. TS MS *sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu* VS VSK ŚB *somo rayim sahavīram ni yaṅsat* KS.

uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS KS

jayatābhītvarīm jayatābhītvaryāh (text, corruptly, °*yā*) AŚ · *jeṣathābhītvarīm jeṣathābhītvaryāh* KB ŚŚ

gārhapatya un no neṣat TA *gārhapatyā un ninetu* MS

aviṣam nah pitum kṛnu (KS *kṛdhi*, TB ApŚ *karat*) VS 2. 20 (omitted in Conc.) TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ The version with *kṛnu* is also found in TB 1 2 1 25d

ādityair no aditih śarma yansat (and, *yachatu*) RV (both)

āyur viśvāyuh pari pāsati (AV *pātu*) *tvā* RV AV TA

śam astu tanve mama AV · *śam v astu tanvai tava* VS *śam u te tanve bhuvat* TS KSA

[By a slip the Conc quotes *svāveśo anamīvā bhavā nah* (Kauś °*mīvā na edhi*) RV TS MS. Kauś SMB PG. ApMB with *bhuvā* as ApMB 's reading, but it has *bhavā* like the rest]

Imperative and Injunctive

§155 The opportunity for interchange between these moods is lessened by the fact that their forms are identical at many points of their respective paradigms Of course this means that our grammatical classifications break down at this point Despite this, the interchanges are not much less numerous than those between Imperative and Subjunctive We present them in four groups first, those which involve no change of tense or person, second, those which involve change of person, third, those with change of tense; fourth, prohibitive clauses with *mā*, a small group of exceptional interest, presenting a rivalry between

these two moods which begins (practically) in the later Vedic texts (cf.
Whitney, *Grammar* §579c) and continues thruout classical Sanskrit.

Imperative and Injunctive without change of tense or person

§156. The interchanges in the 2d singular concern in most cases
presence or absence of *visarga* (e g *vaha· vahah*) and in all (four) such
instances happen to occur at the end of a pāda, they may to some extent
be due to phonetic indistinctness of *h*, see §25.

viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi°*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. *°yah*) RV. TA.
    'Deliver him from every evil-doer (of the sky).'

pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*) AV. VS. TS MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.
    ApŚ   Uncertain· Poona ed. of TA. reads *tira* in text and comm
    recording *tirah* as v. 1 in both. 'Promote farther and farther the
    patron of the sacrifice.'

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahah*) AV. ŚŚ   'Bring to the far-famed.'

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ.† *tapah*) MS TA. ApŚ MŚ. 'Heat the
    heat of the sun.' But perhaps the second *tapah* is felt as a noun,
    for MS. accents it as well as the first *tapah*.

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asma-
    bhyam mahi varivah sugam kah* RV.   See §92.

indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me (and, *dadād idam me*) AV. (both).

agnim nakṣanta (SV. *°tu*) *no girah* RV. SV.

ā no viśva (MS. *°vā*) *āskrā* (TB. *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS. *°ta*) *devāh*
    RV. MS TB. AŚ.

ābhur (ŚG *mātur*) *anyo 'pa* (ApMB. ŚG. *'va*) *padyatām* (ŚG. *°ta*)
    ApŚ ŚG HG. ApMB.

śrīr me bhajatu TA   *śrī me bhajata* MahānU.

alakṣmī me naśyatu (MahānU. *°ta*) TA MahānU. Cf. *alakṣmir me
    naśyatām* RVKh

ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣanta (AV. *°tām*) RV. AV.

(*ud u tvā viśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS. also, *bharanta*) *cittibhih* VS.
    TS MS (both) KS. ŚB.

vāyo ve (TS. ApŚ *vīhi;* Kauś text, erroneously, *vāyave*) *slokānām* (KS †
    ve ślokānām, VSK adds *juṣānah*) VS VSK. TS. KS 3 6 (reference
    omitted in Conc) ŚB ApŚ

viśve devāh samanaso juṣanta (TS *bhavantu*) RV. TS

ni vo jāmayo jihatā (ŚŚ *°tām*) *ny ajāmayah* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May they
    who are related or not related stoop to you ' *jihatā* is 3 pl injunc-
    tive But the long *ā*, followed by a nasal consonant, tempts one'
    to read *°tām* with ŚŚ

aryo naśanta (SV. *nah santu*) *saniṣanta* (SV.† °*tu*) *no dhiyah* RV SV
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

§157. *Imperative and Injunctive, without change of tense but with change of person*

sam arīr (MS KS *arır*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB   'Let the noble (or, do thou, noble) meet together'

mahyam (in MŚ this belongs to the prec pāda) *yajamānāya tiṣṭha* (MŚ ed *tiṣṭhatu*, but mss *tiṣṭhat*, so read) TS MŚ

arṣan (SV *arṣā*) *mitrasya varunasya dharmanā* RV SV   Soma is subject in both, change to direct address in SV

§158 *Imperative and Injunctive, with change of tense* (in a few cases also with change of person)

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh TB ApŚ   'O sacrifice, found thyself upon benevolence, well-disposed', *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ   'May the sacrifice found itself upon benevolence of thoughts'

marutām (MS * *sapatnahā ma°*) *prasave* (VS ŚB °*vena*) *jaya* (TS * *jayata*, TS * TB ApŚ *jeṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ   'Conquer (may I conquer, rival-slaying) on the impulse of the Maruts'

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhāh*) KS. MŚ   'May the sacrifice snugly place life (place thou snugly life, sacrifice) in the patron of the sacrifice'

The rest have no change of person

tvam bhavādhipatir (AV *bhūr abhibhūtir*) *janānām* AV MS KS

punar ma ātmā punar āyur āgāt (MG *aitu*) TB HG MG   Cf. *punar manah   āgāt* (*āgan*) in Conc , and next

punaś cakṣuh punah śrotram na āgan (VSK TA SMB *āgāt*) VS VSK ŚB TA SMB   *punaś cakṣuh punar asur na aitu* AV   Cf prec

amaıṣām cittam prabudhām (TS KS °*dhā*) *vi neśat* (KS *nasyatu*) RV AV. TS KS   'Among themselves let their plan thru thy wisdom (or, the plan of the wise) fall thru'   AVPpp also has *nasyatu*, the two prec pādas in AV are *jagatī*

tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (AŚ *dāh*) AV AŚ

prajām asmāsu dhehi VS   *prajām me dāh* VS TS MS ŚB TA

ojo mayi dhehi VS TB   *ojo me dāh* AV VS   Similarly in items beginning *saho, balam, āyur, srotram, cakṣur, vācam, varco, tejo, payo, ravim*

agne rucām pate   mayı rucam dhāh (KS *dhehi;* ApŚ. *rucam mayı dhāh*)
MS KS ApŚ.

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhı yodhı TS   *adah su madhu madhunābhı
yodhāh* RV AV SV. AA MŚ   For *yodhı* see Whitney, *Grammar*
§839, but the form ıs probably corrupt, see §25

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vıdat PG   *yaśo bhagasya* (read, *bhagaś ca*) *vındatu*
ArS

§159   *Imperatıve and Injunctıve ın Prohıbıtıve clauses wıth mā*

mā savyena dakṣınam atıkrāmīh (GG °*krāma*) GG HG   'Do not cross
the rıght (foot) wıth the left'

mā jñātāram mā pratıṣṭhām vıdanta (AG † *vındantu*) AV AG   'Let them
find no acquaıntance, no support'   It ıs sıgnıficant that the late
text AG changes the ınj to ımpv

mā somam pātv asomapah Kauś   *mā pāt* (text, *yāt'*) *somam asomapah*
LŚ   'Let the non-soma-drınker not drınk the soma'

mā nah soma hvarıto vıhvarasva MŚ [so probably to be read, wıth Conc.;
Knauer's text, *harıvo* (cm for mss *hvarıvo*, Knauer ın a prıvate
letter suggested 'read *hvarıto*, certaınly') *vıhvaras tvam* (mss *vıhvara-
dhvam*, one ms °*dhva*)], 'do not, O soma, faıl, havıng gone wrong';
mā no gharma vyathıto vıvyadhīt (TA *vıvyatho nah*) MS TA. 'do
not, O hot drınk (let not the hot drınk), when shaken, ınjure (shake)
us'   Somewhat uncertaın, because of the bad condıtıon of MŚ,
see §332

Imperatıve and Optatıve

§160.   Thıs class ıs smaller than the precedıng and subdıvısıon ıs
unnecessary.   There ıs but one case of change of tense, the first example;
but change of person ıs frequent   A certaın predılectıon for the ımpera-
tıve rather than the optatıve ın the second person ıs notıceable.

aredatā (KS 5 3 *ahedatā* (by conjecture ın ed, but read *are*° wıth
v Schroeder on 32 3, n 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*) MS
KS (bıs) ApŚ   'Wıth undısturbed mınd go thou (may he go)
to the gods'

agnır dīkṣıtah pṛthwī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu (JB *dīkṣeta*) JB. AnŚ.
'The consecrated one ıs Agnı, the consecratıon ıs earth, let that
consecratıon consecrate me'   The same wıth *vāyur dīkṣıtah, ādıtyo
dīkṣıtah, prajāpatır* etc, see ApŚ 10 10. 6.

arakṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (KS *juṣethāh;* TS MS *juṣasva*) RV. VS.
TS MS KS ŚB

pratiṣṭhāṁ gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhāṁ mā gamaya* (GB *gamayet*)
AB. GB Gaastra on GB p 42 considers its reading corrupt and
would read as AB.

svargam arvanto jayema Vait : *svargān arvanto jayata* SV. ŚŚ.· *svagān*(!)
ar° jayatah AŚ. (corrupt)

mitrāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (KS. °*vad vidhema*) RV KS MŚ. N.

satyāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS. KS °*vad vidhema*) TS KS. TB
ApŚ

tasmā u havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS ApMB. °*vad vidhema*) TS ŚŚ ŚG
ApMB : *dhātra id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*, MŚ.
gachet) VS. VSK TS ŚB. MŚ

bharatam uddharem anuṣiñca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti?*) TB ApŚ.
MŚ. See §304.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ MŚ ·
nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema AV.

havyā no asya haviṣah śṛṇotu (AV. *haviṣo juṣeta*, TS *haviṣaś ciketu*, ŚŚ
haviṣah kṛṇotu) AV. TS MS. KS AŚ ŚŚ

āyajatām (MŚ *āyajeyātām*) *ejyā iṣah* VS. MS KS ŚB TB AŚ MŚ

āvyuṣam jāgṛtād aham AV . *dvyuṣam jāgriyād aham* RVKh   So Conc.,
following Aufrecht for RVKh , but Scheftelowitz reports that his
ms reads *jāgryāmy*, and he emends to *jāgryām*, which seems the
only possible reading.

Imperative and Precative

§161. The precative is merely an aorist optative and does not differ,
in the Veda, from the regular optative in any way. It interchanges
with the imperative about a dozen times, with or without change of
person:

agne tejasvin tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh TS . *agna āyuhkārāyuṣmāns
tvam tejasvān deveṣv edhi* MS   'O Agni   be thou brilliant among
the gods '

āyur dātra edhi VS. ŚB ŚŚ 'be thou life to the giver'; *mayo dātre bhūyāt*
MS 'let there be delight to the giver' Cf next

vayo dātre (KS PB. add *bhūyān*, VSK. *dātra edhi*) *mayo mahyam* (TB
TA. ApŚ *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahītre* VSK KS PB. TB. TA ApŚ.
Cf. prec

durmitrās (°*triyās*, °*tryāś*) *tasmai santu* (KS * TB TA. MahānU BDh
bhūyāsur) *yo 'smān* (MS *asmān*) *dveṣṭi* VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB.
TB. TA. AŚ ŚŚ LŚ. MahānU. BDh.

druhah pāśān (TS. KS *pāśaṁ*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* (AV *prati muñcatām sah*) RV. AV TS MS. KS

yo no dveṣṭy adharah sas padīṣṭa (MS MŚ *sa padyatām*) RV AV MS. KS (The ms of KS *sas*; ed wrongly emends to *sa*)

yena tvam deva veda (ŚŚ *tvam veda*) *devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam* (ŚŚ *tenāsmabhyam*) *vedo bhūyāh* (VSK *bhava*, ŚŚ *veda edhi*) VS. VSK ŚB ŚŚ

suyame me (ApŚ *me adya ghṛtācī*) *bhūyāstam* VS ApŚ : *sūyame me 'dya stam* MS

bahvīr me bhavata (TS *bhūyāsta*) TS KS *bahvīr bhavata* MS

yathendram daivīr viśo maruto 'nuvartmāno 'bhavann (TS *'nuvartmāna*) *evam imam yajamānam daivīs ca viśo mānuṣīś cānuvartmāno bhavantu* . (VSK *bhūyāsuh*) VS VSK TS MS KS

achidrah prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ ApMB HG cf *ariṣṭā asmākam vīrāh santu* ApŚ ApMB *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* (text, *bhuyāh sma*) LŚ.

śunam ma iṣṭam . *bhūyāt* MS . *svam ma iṣṭam astu* KS

samjīvā (°*jīvikā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ *imam amum*) *samjīvayata* MS. AŚ ApŚ.. *samjīvā stha samjīvyāsam* AV

sā me satyāśīr deveṣu bhūyāt (Vait °*ṣv astu*) TS Vait

Imperative and Future

§162. The future is, in general, more certain than any of the moods (Delbruck, *AISynt* 289), but, whenever a future form deals with an event in the future that is not considered quite certain, the barrier between it and the moods falls. And, like other indicatives, it is used in the Veda of things which the poets represent as more certain than they really are, for tactical (magical) reasons Only a couple of interchanges between it and the imperative have been noted, but compare below the interchanges of future with subjunctive, optative, and precative.

vāg ārtvijyam kariṣyati (ApŚ *karotu*) ŚŚ ApŚ 'Speech will (shall) do the office of priest ' Unmetrical, but ŚŚ is made to simulate meter.

rāyaś ca poṣam upasamvyayasva AV HG ApMB · *rayim ca putrān anusamvyayasva* PG : *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayiṣye* PG. MG. 'Wrap thyself (I shall wrap myself) up in prosperity of wealth '

§163. Imperative and Infinitive

dyumnaṁ (KS. also, °*ne*) *vṛnīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB 'May he choose glory, that he may thrive (let him thrive).'

brāhmanāns tarpayitavā iti sampreṣyati ApŚ 4. 16 17 *brāhmanāns
tarpayeti preṣyati* MŚ. 'He gives the order, Treat the brahmans !'
This use of the infinitive in direct discourse (not immediately
depending on a verb of command, in which case the infin would be
regular, see Delbruck, *AISynt* 427, Speyer, *Ved u Skt Synt*
§217) seems to be peculiar to ApŚ, where it occurs at least twice
more *uccaih samāhantavā iti sampreṣyati* 1 20 1, 'he gives the
order, Beat loudly together!', and *triṣ phalīkartavā iti sampreṣyati*
1. 20 11, 'he gives the order, Thrice clean the grain ' On the last the
comm says *phalīkaranam trih kartavyam ity arthah* The *iti*
in such phrases seems to exclude the infinitive from direct govern-
ment by the verb of command. Nevertheless the infin of com-
mand is doubtless the elliptical residue of an infin dependent on a
verb of command [if it is not, after all, felt as governed by the
following *sampreṣyati*, despite the *iti*, such illogical mixture of
direct and indirect forms of speech is not unknown—F. E]   For
the general and comparative aspects of the infin. as impv. see
Delbrück, *Vergl Synt* 2 453ff.

IV IMPERATIVE SECOND SINGULAR IN *si* AND (?) *se*

§164. In the Rigveda occur a number of modal forms restricted to the
2d singular, they are formed by adding *si* directly to the strong form of
the root without other stem or mood formative.   See Whitney, *Gram-
mar* §624, Delbruck, *Altindisches Verbum* §30, *Altindische Syntax* 365,
Speyer, *Ved u. Skt Synt* §188, n. 2, Neisser, *BB* 7. 230 ff.   Imperative
value is generally assigned to them, because they are frequently accom-
panied by other impv. forms in the same sentence.   Now it is interesting
to note that our repetitions do in fact, in a case or two, substitute an
impv. form for such a form in *si*, and further that forms in *si* are not
entirely limited to passages occurring in the RV

deva somaiṣa te lokas tasmiñ cham ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva (VSK *lokah
pari ca vakṣi śam ca vakṣi*, ŚBK *tasmiñ cham pari ca vakṣi sam ca
vakṣi*) VS VSK ŚB ŚBK. Cf. *śam ca vakṣi pari ca vakṣi* MS TA
ApŚ 'This is thy station, god Soma, in it thrive thou well and
thoroly.'   The verb concerned seems to be *vakṣ* 'grow', tho Mahī-
dhara on VS refers the form to *vah* 'carry'   In either case we have
a modal 2d person in *si*, exchanging with an impv. in *sva*, and that
in YV. texts only

dhiyā na (SV. *no*) *vājāṅ upa māsi* (SV. *māhi*) *śaśvatah* RV. SV   Cf
next

stuto yāsi (RV. *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. 'Praised,
O Indra, go after our desire.' In this and the prec , of course, the
forms in *si* may be construed as indicative (so Keith on TS). Yet
the atmosphere of the passages, together with the unambiguous
impv. of the variant forms, seems to suggest modal value

sam indra no (*no*) *manasā neṣi* (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhih* RV AV. VS. TS MS.
KS. ŚB TB. AVPpp. reads *neṣi*, showing that *neṣa* (aor. impv.) is
a somewhat precarious nonce-formation

Of equal interest is the substitution in TS of a form in *si* for a RV.
injunctive, it is the more remarkable because it occurs in a subordinate
clause (introduced by *yad*)

pitr̄n yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *r̥tāvr̥dhah* RV VS TS KS   'When he shall
(thou shalt) sacrifice to the fathers who prosper the *r̥ta* '

§165. We append here a couple of cases in which forms in *se* inter-
change with imperatives in *dhi* (*hi*). It is possible that the *se*-forms
are modal (imperative, or subjunctive?) middle forms corresponding to
the actives in *si*, but the forms are isolated and ambiguous, Perhaps
here belongs *dhiṣe;* see §219, *viśvā adhi śriyo* etc

indro vide tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuhi*) AA Mahānāmnyaḥ
'Indra finds, him do thou praise ' But *stuṣe* may mean 'I praise';
so Keith

kr̥ṣim susasyām ut kr̥ṣe (KS *kr̥dhi*) MS KS. MŚ. 'The furrow, well-
grown with grain, draw thou up ' The verb is problematic in form
and meaning, one is almost led to suspect that both *kr̥ṣe* and *kr̥dhi*
are from *kr̥ṣ* 'plow' (¹)

V SUBJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§166. The subjunctive exchanges with the indicative (§§117ff , 124,
131, 137, 140, 145, a, d, f), the imperative (§151ff.), and further with
injunctive, optative, precative, future, and desiderative. The first
persons, as already remarked, do duty also as imperatives; we treat them
here rather than as impvs   In principal clauses there is no perceptible
difference between the subj and its rival moods   In dependent clauses
the 2d person impv does not alternate with subjs (§95, note 11), but
the ind , 3d person impv , inj and opt are fairly common and normal.

Subjunctive and Injunctive

§167. Alternation between these moods is not very rare, particularly
in principal clauses, and there are a few cases of subordinate clauses
which we have classified here   Included are some cases with coincident

change of tense and person, and there is a single instance of a prohibitive clause with *mā* Some of the forms which we have classified as injunctives may, of course, be regarded perhaps equally well as preterite indicatives without augment, in that case they would belong in §§131, 137, 145.

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS KS. TB. [comm. and Poona ed. text] ApŚ *bruvan*) VS TS. MS. KS TB. ApŚ. 'May the gods bless him '
tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV AV. KS
pra bravāma (MS *bru°*, v. 1 *bra°*) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TA. ApMB. HG. MG.
upa śravat (MS *śruvat*, p p. *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. 'May the blessed (Sarasvatī) listen to us at this sacrifice.' *śruvat*, if not merely a corruption, is a tentative and precarious formation modelled on forms like *bruvat* in the two preceding cases, see §23 where such cases are considered from the phonetic point of view.
agnir havyāni sisvadat RV : *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV.
iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat (TB * †vākṣīt) VS MS KS. TB 'Let one bring refreshment and food '
prācīnam sīdat (MS. *sīdāt*) *pradiśā pṛthivyāh* VS MS KS TB
yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai TA *yajñapataye vāryam ā svas kah* MS · *yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase* ŚŚ
pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. *ūrdhvadhā bhuvat*) RV. SV. So to be classed if *bhuvat* is a subjunctive from the root-aorist (*a*)*bhūt* But augmented forms in -*vat* occur (see Whitney, *Roots*), and both forms may be injunctive, or indeed preterite indic Cf next
sa tvaitebhyah pari dadat (TA *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV AV TA N 'He shall hand thee over to these manes' Both forms ambiguous, somewhat as in the preceding

§168. In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is much commoner than the injunctive (cf. §§124f), but some cases of the latter seem to occur, besides those similar forms which we have preferred to regard as preterite indicatives exchanging with subjunctives (§145).
āyusmān (AV *°mān*) *jaradaṣṭir yathāsam* (AV. *°sāni*) RVKh VS AV · *yathāsat* AV AG PG ApMB. See Conc for similar pādas 'That I (he) may reach old age ' The pāda occurs in four different verses. one in RVKh VS , two different ones in AV., and a fourth in the Gṛhya texts
yad iti mām atimanyadhvam HG · *yadi mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB 'When (if) you (thus) disdain me '

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā ıtı bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV. 'Where people
may say "gods".' Of course *bruvan* may be consıdered ındıc.

The sıngle case of a prohıbıtıve wıth *mā* ıs ·

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam TB ApŚ ApMB HG. 'May I not be separated
from thy friendshıp'· *sakhyam te mā yoṣāh* SMB. 'do not wıthhold
thy frıendshıp '

Subjunctıve and Optatıve

§169. This interchange is most frequent in first-person forms, where
the subj. also does duty as ımpv   But the following examples ınclude
several of 3d person, and others, as well as one of 2d person, will be
found among the interchanges of more than two modal forms, §104
above   Several cases occur in subordınate clauses   One case involves
change of tense   See also §96 for a RV case.

vıdād (SV *vıded*) *ūrjam śatakratur vıdād* (SV *vıded*) *iṣam* RV. SV.
'May (Indra) the possessor of hundred-fold wisdom obtain food,
obtaın refreshment '

ımā nu kam bhuvanā sīṣadhāma (SV TA. ApŚ. MŚ °*dhema*) RV. AV.
SV. VS AB. KB. GB AA. TA. MŚ. ApŚ. AŚ ŚŚ Vaıt. 'Let us
now brıng success to these worlds '

śṛnuyāma (TA ApMB. HG. *śṛnavāma*) *śaradah śatam* VS. MS. TA. PG.
MG ApMB. HG.

bhavāma (AV *bhavema*) *śaradah śatam* AV TA ApMB. HG.

vıbhum kāmam (VS. *vıbhūn kāmān*) *vy aśnavaı* (MS. *aśīya*) VS MS KS.
TB.

athaınam jarımā nayet HG : *yathainam jarase nayāt* AV.

In the last the subj occurs in a subordınate clause, whıch is made a
prıncıpal clause wıth the opt form   In the following both forms occur
ın subordınate clauses:

(*bhūmyā vṛtvāya no brūhi*) *yatah khanema* (TS *khanāma*) *tam vayam*
VS TS MS KS.

yasyām uśantah praharāma (AV. ApMB HG °*rema*) *śepam* (AV.
śepah) RV AV PG. ApMB HG. N. 'In whom (the bride) we may
eagerly ınsert the member '

yathā pumān bhaved iha MŚ.: *yatheha puruṣo 'sat* (SMB *puruṣah syāt*)
VS ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś SMB.

§170. Subjunctive and Precative

aham evedam sarvam asāni (ŚB BṛhU. °*vam bhūyāsam*) ŚB. BṛhU.
ChU 'May I myself be (or become) thıs entıre world.'

yan madhuno   tenāham madhuno   'sāni (HG *bhūyāsam*) PG ApMB
HG

§171. *Subjunctive and Future*

varano vārayālai (and, *vārayisyate*) AV (both) 'the (amulet) made of
  varana-wood shall defend' *varuno* (but Poona ed with comm
  varano) *vāriyāt* TA.

bhavāsi putrānām mātā AV   *teṣām mātā bhaviṣyasi* ŚG

agnau kariṣyāmi GG BDh   *agnau karavāni* ViDh. And others, see
  §41

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ
  °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ   See §27

pra ca havyāni vakṣyasi TS   *pred u havyāni vocati* RV VS KS   'Thou
  shalt (he shall) announce the oblations.'

§172. *Subjunctive and (Subjunctive of) Desiderative*

brahma vā yah kriyamānam ninitsāt (AV *vā yo nindiṣat kriyamānam*)
  RV AV   'Or whoso shall (seek to) blaspheme our holy charm as
  it is being performed '

VI MIXED IMPERATIVE-SUBJUNCTIVE FORMS

§173. Of all genuinely modal interrelations that between impv and
subj is the most frequent   This intimacy between the two has gained
formal expression in the Vedic language in occasional mixed imperative-
subjunctive forms   Thus *nudātu* is a blend of *nudatu*, impv, and
nudāti, subj   No less certainly *karatu* is a blend of subj *karati* and
impv *karotu*   The function of this blend corresponds to its form   Cf
Whitney, *Grammar* §§740, 752c   In §104, p, we have quoted several
variants showing all three types, true subj, true impv, and mixed
Here we append others in which the mixed form varies with subjunctive
alone

sa dṛṣṭo mṛdayāti (MS † °*tu*, VSK *mṛlayāti*) *nah* VS VSK TS MS KS
  'May he, when seen, be gracious unto us '

dīrgham āyuh karati (TA °*tu*) *jīvase vah* RV TA

viśve no devā avasā gamantu RV VS TS   *viśve no* (KS *mā*) *devā avasā
  gamann iha* RV VS MS KS ApŚ   Since the thematic aorist
  agamat is rare and dubious in the Samhitās, it is best to classify
  the Samhitā form *gamantu* here, rather than as impv to aor *agam-
  a-t*. Cf however *gamat sa* (*gamema*) . in §174.

tapto vām gharmo nakṣati (AV *nakṣatu*) *svahotā* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
sa no muñcātu (RV SV. *rakṣiṣad*) *duritād avadyāt* RV. SV. TA.
ādityair indrah saha sīṣadhātu (VS. °*ti*, RV. AV. *cīkḷpāti*) RV. AV. SV.
    VS TA MŚ ApŚ
[*so 'syai* (MG *'syāḥ*) *prajām muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG SMB. PG.
    ApMB HG MG. Conc erroneously quotes *muñcātu* for SMB]

VII. Injunctive in interchange with other moods

§174. The injunctive alternates with indicative (§§120, 125, 132, 138,
141, 145, b, e), imperative (§§155ff), subjunctive (§§167f.), and optative.
There is one case of a prohibitive with *mā* in which one text anoma-
lously replaces an inj with an opt , cf Whitney, *Grammar* §579b. Occa-
sionally there is a shift of tense along with that of mood.

Injunctive and Optative

ā mā prānena saha varcasā gan (AV. *gamet*) AV TS MS KS   'May he
    come to me along with life-breath and strength.'   AV comm also
    gan; MS p p *agan*.
asyām ṛdhad (ŚB AŚ *ṛdhed*) *dhotrāyām devamgamāyām* MS ŚB TA.
    AŚ ŚŚ   'May he succeed in this sacrifice that goes to the gods '
tvayā (VSK TS KS TB omit) *vayam samghātam-samghātam* (TS TB.
    omit one *samghātam*, VSK *samghāte-samghāte*) *jeṣma* (KS † once
    samjayema, once *jayema*) VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB TB. '(Thru
    thee) may we be victorious in every fight '
gamat sa (and. *gamema, sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV (all)   'He (we)
    shall go to a stall rich in cattle '   *gamat* is commonly taken as sub-
    junctive of a root aorist, but in view of *gamema*, which can only be
    opt of an *a*-aorist, we class it as inj of that type
tena vayam gamema (TS MS KS *patema*, VSK *tena gamema*) *bradh-
    nasya viṣṭapam* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB   *tena geṣma sukṛtasya
    lokam* AV
nedīya it sṛnyah (TS † °*yā*) *pakvam eyāt* (TS MS KS *āyat*) RV VS
    TS MS KS ŚB N
na pāpatvāya rāsīya (SV *ransiṣam*) RV AV. SV   The SV. reading is
    doubtless an unsuccessful attempt to improve the meter
pra tad voced (TA MahānU. *voce*) *amṛtasya* (VS TA MahānU. *amṛtam
    nu*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU   In AV , 'may (the *gandharva*)
    knowing of the immortal proclaim that '   TA comm *provāca*
    (3d person!)   The form *voce* seems well-nigh uninterpretable, the
    comm seems to be thinking of the 3d sing perf mid *ūce*

The single case of prohibitive with *mā* is:

mā lvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS *dhanayīd;* TS *dhvanayīd;* KSA. *dhvanayed*)
dhūmagandhıh RV. VS TS MS.. KSA   'Let not the fire, smoke-
scented, make thee crackle', or the like   On *dhvanayıd* see §285

VIII Optative in interchange with other moods

§175. The optative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 126, 133,
142), imperative (§160), subjunctive (§170), injunctive (§174), preca-
tive, and future

Optative and Precative

The precative is itself only an aorist optative of specialized type   It
interchanges mostly with the present optative, less often with the aorist
optative. Some of the forms classed as precatives are, of course,
necessarily indistinguishable from regular aorist optatives, cf Whitney,
Grammar §§568, 921ff ; these interchanges might therefore be classed
under §210, d

tābhyām (MS KS. add *vayam) patema sukŗtām u lokam* (Kauś *pathy-
ā́sma sukŗtasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś 'With these two
(wings) may we fly to the world of the pious '

tvayáyam vŗtram vadhyāl (VSK *badhyāt,* VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK. TS
MS KS ŚB. 'Thru thee may he slay Vŗtra '

anu vīraır anu puṣyāsma (TB ApŚ *rādhyāma) gobhıh* VS TB ApŚ
'May we thrive with heroic sons and cattle.'

jīveyam ŚB : *jīvyāsam* AV

sam aham āyuṣā sam varcasā sam prajayā (ŚŚ adds, *sam prıyena
dhāmnā) sam rāyas poṣena gmīya* (VS ŚB ŚŚ *gmıṣīya*) VS MS
KS   But, of course, *gmıṣīya* may be considered an ış-aorist

sınītālyā aham deı ayajyayā paśumān (ApŚ. °*mati) bhūyāsam* (MŚ
paśūn ıındeyam) ApŚ MŚ   Similarly with *kuhrā,* and *rākāyā*

suprajāh prajayā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*)   VSK TS ApŚ
ApMB HG · *suprajāh prajābhıh syām* (VS. and ŚB also *syāma;*
ŚŚ *prajābhır bhūyāsam*). VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

prıyo dātur dakṣınāyā ıha syām AV   *prıyo devānām dakṣınāyaı dātur
ıha bhūyāsam* VS

bhūyāma te sumatau rājıno vayam RV. SV. *bhūyāsma te sumatau vıśıa-
ıedah.* MS (so read, for Conc °*redāh,* the text has °*ıedū* followed by
a vowel, which by the peculiar sandhi of MS means °*ıedah*)

bhūyāsma (SB. KŚ. °*yāma) putraıh paśubhıh* SB KŚ AŚ ApŚ ApMB.
BDh

sahasrapoṣam vaḥ puṣyāsam (KS. *puṣeyam;* MS. *vo 'ṣīya*) TS MS. KS.
HG : *sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam* VS. ŚB

dyāvāpṛthivyor aham devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS.* *devaya-
jyayā prajaniṣeyam prajayā paśubhiḥ,* KS * MŚ *devayajyayā pra-
janiṣīya prajayā paśubhiḥ*) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.   Note the anoma-
lous (thematic) aor. opt. *prajaniṣeyam.*

ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma LŚ . *ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ* RV. AV. TS
KS

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait . *ā mā stotrasya
stotram gamyāt* PB.

api jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh : *api nah sa kule bhūyāt* MDh.

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) AV MS.
KS : *tasya te vayam bhūyiṣṭhabhājo bhūyāsma* ApŚ.· *tasyās te
bhakṣivānah syāma* (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma,* ApŚ °*vānso
bhūyāsma,* AŚ *bhāgam aśīmahi*) MS KS TB ApŚ AŚ.

vāmī te samdṛśi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS *dhiṣīya*) MS KS.: *viśvasya te
viśvavato vṛṣṇiyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya*
TS   *vāmī nāma samdṛśi viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB.   All the verb-
forms are ambiguous, and *dhīmahi* doubly so, since it might be
injunctive; see Whitney, *Grammar* §837b.

Optative and Future

tau yuñjīta (AV. *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV. SV. 'These
two may he (I shall) first yoke up (employ) when the conjuncture
arrives '   The AV. (vulgate) mss. all read *yokṣe,* Ppp *yokṣye.*

IX. PRECATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§176. The precative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 133),
imperative (§161), subjunctive (§169), optative (§175), and future
Two of the three forms here classed as precatives might, however, also
be considered aor optative.

Precative and Future

juṣṭām adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam (ŚŚ. *vācam vadiṣyāmi*) ŚB. ŚŚ.
ApŚ   'Let me (I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods '
madhu vansiṣīya (ŚŚ *vaniṣye*) AV. ŚŚ   'May I (I shall) win honey.'
Whitney would read *vansiṣīya* in AV   Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker,
JAOS 13, cxviii

madhu janiṣye (AV *janiṣīya*) AV TS TA ŚŚ · *madhu kariṣyāmi
madhu janayiṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati* JB.

X FUTURE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§177. The future interchanges with aorist indicative (§134), imperative (§162), subjunctive (§171), optative (§175, end), precative (just above), and desiderative, and in one doubtful case we may have a future indicative exchanging with a future subjunctive   See also under Tense for interchange of future with other indicative tenses (§234), and see §248a for verbal nouns in *tā*, simulating the later periphrastic future, exchanging with various finite verb forms

yad vādāsyan samjagārā janebhyah TB   *adāsyann agna uta samgṛnāmi*
    AV   *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA   'If I promise, not
    intending to give, to people', or the like.   Participles are here
    concerned

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai (MG   *paridhāsye yaśo dhāsye*) PG. MG   If
    the PG. contains finite verb-forms, they must be future subjunc-
    tives (Whitney, *Grammar* §938)   But Stenzler and Oldenberg
    follow the Hindu comm in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive (and
    yaśodhāsyai as a compound).   Cf §134

XI DESIDERATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§178. The desiderative—by definition modal in force—exchanges with indicative aorist (§135) and future (§177), and it forms a sub-junctive of its own which varies with another subjunctive (§172)

XII INFINITIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH IMPERATIVE

§178a. See §163.

SUMMARY OF MODAL INTERCHANGES IN DEPENDENT AND OTHER NON-CATEGORICAL CLAUSES

§179. Starting with the observation that the subjunctive is the favorite in relative clauses, we note (§122) that the 2d sing impv is certainly excluded from that construction   This does not apply to the other numbers of the 2d person impv , which are identical in form with injunctives, as may be seen from the example in §168, *yad iti mām atimanyadhvam* HG , *yadi mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB , 'when (if) you (thus) disdain me '   The true or exclusive imperative forms, not capable of confusion with either subj or inj , are (in the active) the 2d and 3d singular and the 3d plural only   They occur, if only rarely, in prohibitive clauses (§159), and the third person also in relative clauses

(§§122f) We here use the term 'relative' in a broad sense to include clauses introduced by conjunctions derived from the stem *ya-*, as *yadi*, *yathā, yad, yatra, yatah* Understood in this sense we find the following:

§180. *Interchanges of moods in relative clauses*

Present Indicative and Imperative, §123
Present Indicative and Subjunctive, §124
Present Indicative and Injunctive, §125
Present Indicative and Optative, §126
Preterite Indicatives and modal forms (mostly subjunctives), §145
Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168
Subjunctive and Optative, §169
Subjunctive and Desiderative Subjunctive, §172

§181. *Interchanges of moods and tenses in prohibitive clauses with* mā

Augmented and augmentless Preterites, §146
Perfect Indicative and Injunctive, §147
Imperative and Injunctive, §159
Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168
Injunctive and Optative, §174, end

Cf also the interchange between present and aorist prohibitive injunctives, §§209, 211

§182. To show at a glance the possible variations in prohibitive clauses with *mā*, we group examples of them here The result is a mosaic of unexpected modal variety

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat   śraddhā me mā vyāgāt, §146

ganān me mā vi tītṛṣah (°ṣat)· *ganān me mā vy arīriṣah*, §146

mā tvā ke cin ni (cid vi) yaman vim (ke cin ni yemur in, ke cin nyemur in) na pāśinah, §147

mā savyena dakṣinam atikrāmīh (°kī āma), §159

mā jñālāram mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta (vindantu), §159

mā nah soma hvarito vihvarasva   mā no gharma vyathito vivyadhīt (vivyatho nah), §159

mā somam pātv asomapah   mā pāt somam asomapah, §159

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam   sakhyam te mā yoṣāh, §168

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (dhanayīd, dhvanayid, dhvanayed) dhūmagandhih, §174, end

gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (vepidhvam), §211

mā tvā vṛkṣah (°ṣau) *sam bādhiṣṭa (bādhiṣṭām, bādhethām)*, §211

mainam agne vi daho mābhiśocah (°*śūśucah*), §211

mainām arcisā mā tapasābhi (*maināṁ tapasā mārcisābhi*) *śocīḥ* (*śocah, śūśucah*), §211

§183. *Interchange of moods in interrogative and lest-clauses*

In one interrogative clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:

(*apām napād āśuhemā kuvit sa*) *supeśasas karati* (*karoti*) *josisad dhi*

In one lest-clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive·

mā mā hāsīn (*hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (*na*) *ivā jahāni* (°*mi*).

CHAPTER IV. THE TENSES. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TENSES AND TENSE-SYSTEMS

§184 Tense interchange in the Vedic Variants may be treated, in its formal and functional aspects, under three heads:

1 Interchanges between different formations of the same tense. In general these are devoid of functional distinction This is true alike of the present and the aorist systems. Except that the reduplicated aorist is associated with causative meaning (Whitney, *Grammar* §856)—and even this exception is by no means a hard and fast rule, as the variants show—the aorist, thruout the history of Sanskrit as of the other Indo-European languages, does not make any functional differentiation of its various formal types. Nor do our variants throw any light on the rare and precarious instances in which different present-systems from the same root are accompanied by genuine differences of meaning, as in the perfective *bharati* 'carry to': imperfective *bibharti* 'carry, wear'; see Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 11. cxxvi ff.; Delbrück, *AISynt.* 274ff So far as the variants show, the interchanges between present systems are quite devoid of distinctions of meaning.

2 Interchanges between identical subordinate moods of different tenses, especially present and aorist. These, again, do not manifest the slightest difference in sense Thus, *patim me kevalam kṛdhi (kuru)*, 'make him solely my husband ' We have encountered this tense variation as a very frequent accessory to modal variation in the chapter on moods; see above, §154, etc The cases there presented included only those in which mood as well as tense was shifted, as in *uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (yachatu)*, §154, where an aorist subjunctive varies with a present imperative In the present chapter we shall deal with instances in which the mood remains constant, while the tense changes

3. True interchange of tense, that is to say, interchange in the indicative forms, which (at least in the Veda) do have more or less clearly recognizable differences of meaning This involves interchanges between present, aorist, imperfect, and perfect, and to some extent future, altho in our view the Vedic use of the future makes it more a mood than a tense and we have accordingly treated it chiefly in the chapter on moods, but see below, §234

We begin with the first of these classes, which involves two subdivisions: a. Interchange between the Present systems, and b between the Aorist systems

1. Interchanges between different formations of the same tense

a Interchanges between different Present systems

§185. Interchanges between present systems are carried on in a fairly live fashion, and without the least distinction in meaning between the correspondents. To some extent they represent old established correspondences, such as between the various nasal presents   This is in continuation of prehistoric conditions, largely dependent on the organic derivation of the various nasal classes from different types of 'dissyllabic roots' or bases   See Gustav Meyer, *Die mit nasalen gebildeten praesensstämme* (Jena, 1873), de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indoeuropéennes* 239ff.; Hirt, *Ablaut* 76ff.   The nasal classes show also a considerable tendency to interchange with other present classes. Next in importance are the transitions from non-thematic to thematic conjugation, part of a wide movement thruout the history of Hindu speech   In a root or two (*mṛd, hū*) the accented *a*-class interchanges with ungunated *aya*-presents, the latter being structurally or chronologically more archaic (*hvayāmi* = Avestan *zbayemi*). Intransitive *ya*-verbs show a somewhat marked tendency to replace other types in late texts; cf Delbrück, *AISynt* 277. There are some interchanges which involve different phonetic treatment of one and the same root, producing the effect of different present systems, such as interchange between *ramnātu* and *ranvatu, ūrnuhi* and *vṛṇu, dhvarati* and *dhūrvati*.   Above all loom about forty interchanges between the stems *kṛṇo-* and *karo-*, involving tangled chronological conditions   And finally there are interchanges between any one and any other system.   We shall treat these matters in the approximate order of their frequency or importance, beginning with *kṛṇo · karo*

The stems kṛno (kṛṇu) and karo (kuru)

§186 Of these two stems, *kṛno-* is guaranteed as a prehistoric form by the Avestan *kərənaomi*   No less certainly is *karo-* of ancient organic structure (dissyllabic base **kereu*), as is shown by *-kūr-min, karv-ara*, and the analogous formation *tarute*   See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 16 clx = *BB* 23 110, Hirt, *Ablaut* 114   The early hieratic language adopted

kṛno-, whereas *karo-* seems likely to have been the true popular form at all times. In the prevailingly hieratic parts of the RV. we find, accordingly, *kṛno-*. On the other hand, however, the AV , tho fundamentally and prevailingly popular, does not favor *karo-* as we should expect Whitney's Index to the AV shows that *kṛno-* is much the commoner stem, and this is perhaps made even more striking by the evidence of the variants, in which, even tho the other texts (largely popular) read *karo-*, the AV. overwhelmingly favors *kṛno-* (in 13 out of 14 cases, only one *karo-!*). It is quite clear that in this respect, as in some others, AV., which shares many hieratic passages with RV , has come under the influence of its diction. (It is to be noted, however, that of the passages among the variants showing *kṛno-* in AV., only one is borrowed from RV. Evidently AV. adopted the hieratic stem very definitely as its own The passages are grouped just below.) Analogously, we find even in some very late texts that *kṛno-* forms are substituted for *karo-* forms of older texts, by conscious archaism. Thus Vait., certainly a late text but one with hieratic pretensions, employs the doubly archaic *kṛnuhi* (*ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*, see §255), against *kuru* of other and older texts So also the very late NīlarU revives *kṛno-* over the heads of all the YV texts in: *śivaṁ giritra* (MS *giriśa*) *tām kuru* (NīlarU *kṛnu*) VS T⁻. MS KS NīlarU. On the whole both the later hieratic texts (YV., Brāhmaṇa, and Śrauta Sūtra), as well as the popular Grhya Sūtras, incline to *karo-*, but frequently and very inconsistently fall back into *kṛno-*. The edition of ApŚ 7 17 6, 7 gives both forms in adjoining repetitions of the same formula, *arātīyantam adharam karomi* (7. 16. 7 *kṛnomi*); the hieratic form here may be due to mere desire for stylistic variation. Just so in adjoining verses of the popular ApMB we have first *karomi*, then *kṛnomi* with further recasting of the phrase which suggests stylistic influence: *syonam te saha patyā karomi* 1. 5 16d, and *ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā kṛnomi* 1 5 17d There are few Vedic texts of any size or importance so base but that they occasionally use *kṛno-* in place of *karo-*. Of those represented by more than one variant pāda, only TA , HG , and RVKh lack *kṛno-* forms The would-be hieratic (but late and secondary) Vait. poses with *kṛno-* forms three times against other texts with *karo-*, and without a single instance of the reverse.

§187. We seem to see traces of some school tendencies in this regard Altho it would doubtless be rash to generalize confidently from these few instances, it seems hardly likely to be accidental that the Taittirīya school texts—TS , TB , TA., ApŚ , MahānU., HG , and ApMB.—

uniformly prefer the popular *karo-* So does KS., while contrariwise
MS. and its Śrauta Sūtra, MŚ, show a majority for *kṛno-*.

§188 The capricious interplay of hieratic and popular, old and new,
is further tangled by half a dozen examples in which the aorists or aorist-
presents *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* interchange with corresponding forms of the
bases *kṛno-* and *karo-*, §210, a

§189. The distribution of the two stems in the interchanging variants
is shown conveniently in the following table.

	kṛno-	*karo-*		*kṛno-*	*karo-*
RV.	3	0	Vait	3	0
AV	13	1	ApŚ	5	7
SV . ..	1	0	MŚ . . .	3	2
VS.	4	4	ŚG . . .	.0	1
TS	4	9	SMB	2	0
MS. . . .	8	3	GG . .	1	0
KS.	5	9	Kauś	.1	1
AB	1	0	PG	2	2
JB . 1	1	0	ApMB. ..	4	6
PB . . 0	0	1	HG	0	5
ŚB . .	3	2	MahānU.	0	1
TB	2	6	NīlarU	1	0
TA .. .	0	6	ŚvetU	0	1
AŚ	2	2	RVKh	0	5
ŚŚ. .	1	2	BDh	0	1
LS.	0	1			

§190 The following list of about 40 passages is grouped so as to show
first those which concern RV and AV. by themselves·

Passages involving RV

yadā śṛtam kṛṇavo (TA *karavo*) *jātavedah* RV AV TA
yasmai kṛṇoti (TS. *karoti*) *brāhmaṇah* RV VS TS
suputrām subhagām kuru (RV *kṛṇu;* SMB *kṛdhi*) RV SMB. ApMB.
HG.

Passages involving AV

yadā śṛtam kṛṇavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedah* RV. AV TA
aqne medhāvinam kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV VS RVKh
anāgasam brahmane (AV °*ṇā*) *tvā karomi* (AV *kṛṇomi*) AV. TB. HG.
ApMB.
priyam mā kuru (AV *kṛṇu*) *deveṣu* (ApMB *mā deveṣu kuru*) AV.
RVKh HG ApMB

priyam rājasu mā kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV. RVKh. ApMB : *priyam mā kuru rājasu* HG

brahmāham antaram kṛnve (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV KŚ

mām indra bhaginam kṛnu AV. *mām agne bhāginam kuru* ApMB.

karomi (AV *kṛṇomi*) *te prājāpatyam* AV. ApMB HG

kṛṇomi tubhyam sahapatnyai vadhu AV *ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*) RV. ApMB.: *syonam me* (ApMB. *te*) *saha patyā karomi* TS. TB. ApMB

svasti na indro maghavān kṛṇotu AV. *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS. TA MahānU.

yasya kurmo gṛhe havih VS MS KS ŚB · *yasya kurmo* (AV. *kṛṇmo*) *havir gṛhe* AV TS

kṛṇvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS MS KS *anyān*, KŚ '*nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV TS. MS. KS ApŚ KŚ

dīrgham āyuh kṛṇotu me (*vām*) AV JB. Kauś ApMB : *āyuṣmantam karota mā* (RVKh. *karotu mām*, KS. *kṛṇota mā*) RVKh. KS TA BDh.

yābhyām karmāni kurvate (SV. *kṛṇvate*) AV. SV This is the only variant in which AV shows a *karo-* form It is also the only variant in which SV figures at all

Passages involving all other texts

agnih prajām bahulām me karotu (MS. *kṛṇotu*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB ŚŚ ApŚ.

agnih pravidvān (MS KS °*vāṅ*) *iha tat kṛṇotu* (ApŚ * *karotu*, KS. ApŚ ' *dadhātu*) MS KS ApŚ. (bis)

achidram yajñam bhūrikarmā karotu (KS. MŚ *bhūriretāh kṛṇotu*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ

arātāyantam adharam kṛṇomi (ApŚ.* *karomi*) TS. ApŚ (both)

asya kurmo (RVKh *kulmo*) *harivo medinam tvā* RVKh TS. TB.: *iha kṛṇmo* etc. KS.

ādityās tvā kṛṇvantu (KS *kurvantu*) *jāgatena chandasā* VS TS MS KS ŚB.

Similarly *rudrās tvā, vasavas tvā, viśve tvā devā*, etc.

tena suprajasam kṛnu (TA. *kuru*) TA. Vait.

tena mā vājinam kuru (Vait *kṛṇu*) AŚ Vait LŚ.

sinīvālī kṛṇotu (KS *karotu*) *tām* VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

ukhām kṛṇotu (TS KS *karotu*) *śaktyā* VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB.

kṛṇotu (KS *karotu*) *viśvacarṣaṇih* KS TB. ApŚ MŚ SMB PG

apsu dhautasya te bhakṣam kṛṇomi (PB *karomi*) KS. PB.

syonam te sadanam karomi (MŚ. *kṛṇomi*) TB. ApŚ MŚ.

so asmān (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatin karotu* TS. MŚ · *so 'smān adhipatin
kṛnotu* ŚŚ

samitāro yad atra sukṛtam kṛnavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat
AB. AŚ.. *yo duṣkṛtam karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś

yena striyam akṛnutam (ŚŚ *striyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ. SMB GG. *yena
śriyam akṛnutām* PG

yāsyām patighnī tanūh   jāraghnīm asyai tām kṛnomi ApMB : *yā te
patighnī tanūr jāraghnīm tv etām karomi* HG · *yā te patighnī .
tanūr jāraghnīm tata enām karomi* PG . *yā te patighny alakṣmī .
jāraghnīm tām karomi* ŚG.

sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB. °*manasam kṛnotu*) PG ApMB

śivām giritra (MS *giriśa*) *tām kuru* (NīlarU. *kṛnu*) VS TS. MS KS
NīlarU ŚvetU.

vasūni kṛnvan (ApŚ *kṛnvann asme,* TB *kṛnvann asmin,* read *asme* with
comm and Poona ed. text, MŚ *kurvan*) *naryā purūni* TB AS
ApŚ MŚ

yasyām karmāṇi kurvate (ApŚ *kṛnvate*) KS ApŚ

madhu tvā madhulā karotu (MS *kṛnotu*) MS. TA. ApŚ

prajā vikṛnvañ (ApŚ *vikurvañ*) *janayan virūpam* (ApŚ °*pāh*) KS ApŚ.·
prajāh kṛnvan janayan virūpāh MS

ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam   manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait *kṛṇuhi*) TS MS
AŚ. Vait

Interchange between the various nasal classes

§191. Here we have, first. interchanges between the *no* and *nā* classes
they involve the roots *stabh* and *skabh* (thrice), *kṣi* 'destroy' (twice), and
mi 'diminish' (once)   The rest of the cases are stray examples of vari-
ous nasal formations; they chiefly concern transfer from non-thematic
nasal classes to thematic forms.   In principle, of course, thematic verbs
of nasal classes are just as old as the non-thematic, but in Sanskrit
their appearance is sporadic only   The total of these cases is not suffi-
cient to permit deductions

āyyam uktham avyathāyai (KS °*ya,* TS *avyathayat*) *stabhnātu* (MS
°*notu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB   The same with *praūgam uktham,
marutvatīyam uktham, niṣkevalyam uktham,* and *vaiśvadevāgnimārute
ukthe,* etc

ut te stabhnāmi (TA *tabhnomi*) *pṛthivīm tvat pari* RV. AV TA and
(pratīkas) ŚG AG Kauś

adhvana skabhnīta (VS *skabhnuvantah*) VS TS   *adhvānam skabhnu-
vanto* . MS

kṣiṇomi (AV *kṣiṇāmi*) *brahmanāmitrān* AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB TA.
idam aham amum āmuṣyāyaṇam . *prakṣiṇāmi* KS . *idam aham amuṣ-
    yāmuṣyāyaṇam   prakṣiṇāmi* MS.   *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyan-
    asyāyuh prakṣiṇomi* ApŚ
pra smā miṇāty (ApŚ *prāsmā minoty*) *ajarah* RV. KS ApŚ.
bṛhaspatiṣ tvā (TS KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS. ApŚ *raṇ-
    vatu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ.   The 'root' *ranv* is best ac-
    counted for as *ra-nv-*(**rm-nv-*).   Whitney, *Roots*, regards it as a
    secondary formation from *ran*   This and the next belong equally
    in §196
deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS. *rana*, MS *raṇe*) VS TS. MS KS
    ŚB.
āpas tvā sam ariṇan (MS. *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB . *āpaḥ sam arinan* TS.
    KS.
agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p. *jihvām, abhi*; AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*)
    gṛṇītam (AV. *gṛnata*) AV VS. TS MS KS *gṛṇītam* is 2d dual of *nā-*
    class, *gṛnata* 2d plural of accented *a*-class.
āṅkṣvāsāv āṅkṣvāsau HG · *asāv abhyaṅkṣvāsāv aṅkṣva* AŚ.: *āṅkṣva
    tatāsau* ApŚ . *āñjasvānulimpasva* PG   The thematic present is
    practically unknown; see Whitney, *Roots*
sā mā samiddhāyuṣā   samintām (1 one ms °*indhatām*) TA.: *sā mā
    samiddhā   samindhiṣatām* MS   Here TA , most mss , has a regu-
    lar non-thematic present from *indh*, the anomalous appearance of
    which doubtless causes the thematic variant °*indhatām*. MS has
    an aorist.

The roots *van, man* and *san* may also be included here even tho the
nasal is in their case radical, in this grouping we merely follow a custom
which is not only well-established but eminently practical   They pre-
sent, alongside of non-thematic (8th class) presents, certain forms which
may be either thematic present indicatives, or aorist subjunctives.
tad agnir devo devebhyò vanate (MS. ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS. ŚB. TB.
    AŚ ŚŚ.

The question is, whether *vanate* is a pres of the *bhū*-class or an aor.
subj ; see §§ 116, 154, and the next.
agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS. *vaṅsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS.
    VSK. TS MS. KS. See under prec   The question there mooted
    is here further complicated by the indubitably aor. subj. *vaṅsate*.
manai (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham, śatam dhāmāni sapta ca* RV.
    VS. MS KS ŚB. N.   But *manai* is dubious as a pres subj ; it is
    better taken as aorist, see §§10, 119.
ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA ApŚ. MŚ.

Interchange of nasal with non-nasal classes

§192 This rubric is rendered somewhat uncertain in outline because
a number of the non-nasal forms in question may be considered as
aorists, especially in the case of modal forms   Thus, the SV repeatedly
reads *yuñḷṣva* for *yukṣva* of the rest, the latter is structurally ambiguous,
tho usually treated as present, like *yuñkṣva*   We have followed this
custom, altho it seems to us that *yukṣva* might quite as well be treated
as aorist   The fact is that, as we have repeatedly observed, our gram-
matical categories are more or less whited sepulchres, particularly as
regards modal forms   The same considerations apply to some other
forms classed here, notably to *-vṛddhi -vṛnda*, where *vṛddhi* might be
regarded as either perfect in form (*veda*), or aorist (cf. *vidanta: vṛndantu*,
§159), tho we group it as present·

indrānuvinda (AŚ °*vṛddhi*) *nas tāni* TB. AŚ.

agne yukṣvā (SV. PB *yuñkṣvā*) *hi ye tava* RV. SV VS TS MS KS PB
ŚB KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *madacyutā harī* RV AV. SV

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *hi keśinā harī* RV. SV. VS. ŚB

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vājinīvaḥ* RV. SV

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vṛtrahantama* RV. SV ŚŚ.

yukṣvā (and, *yuṅgdham*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV. (both)

athā mandasva (VS. *madaeva*) *jujuṣāṇo andhasah* RV. VS

iṣe pipihi (MS. *pipīhi*) MS TA ApŚ   *iṣe pinvasva* VS ŚB KŚ   Simi-
larly with *ūrje, kṣatrāya, brahmaṇe*, and others, see §270

agne brahma gṛbhṇīṣva (MS MŚ. *gṛhṇīṣva*, KS. *gṛhīṣva*) VS MS KS.
ŚB MŚ.

suśami śamīṣva (TS TB *śami*°; KS † *śamnīṣva*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB.
TB

yasya yonim patireto gṛbhāya (HG *prati reto gṛhāṇa*) ŚG. HG : *vy
asya yonim prati reto gṛhāṇa* ApMB   Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§722,
732

Possibly here belongs·

kataro menim prati tam mucāte (Vait *muñcāte*) RV. Vait   But in §210,
b, we have classified *mucāte* as aorist   See that section and the
following for one or two other cases which might, less probably, be
placed here

And see further the interchanges between stems *tṛmpa* and *tṛpya, manu*
and *manya, hṛnī* and *hṛnīya*, §195

Interchange between non-thematic and thematic presents

§193   This is one of the most extensive movements in the development
of the present systems in their history thruout Hindu speech   Regu-
larly the non-thematic form precedes the thematic form, structurally
and chronologically.   In the variants the priority of the non-thematic
form may generally be assumed.   Sometimes the thematic forms are
nonce-formations, as when *ghnata* takes the place of *hata*, or in the gro-
tesque *bodha*, 'be', which is coaxed out of *bodhi* in the example *pitā no
bodhi* (*bodha*)   At the head of our list come several cases in which dis-
syllabic non-thematic stems are replaced by thematic ones.   Cf. also
under nasal stems, §191.

kati kṛtvah prāṇati cāpānati ca (ŚB   *prāṇiti cāpa cāṇiti*) GB. ŚB.
    Better meter in ŚB

yah prāṇiti (AV   *prāṇati*) *ya im śṛnoty uktam* RV. AV.

yac ca prāṇiti (AV. *prāṇati*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB TB BrhU. (Correct
    Conc.)

ni ṣtanihi (AV. *abhi ṣtana*) *durita bādhamānah* RV. AV VS. TS. MS.
    KS

āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata HG : *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG . *āpo havihṣu jāgṛta*
    ApŚ.: *apo jāgṛta* MS KS. MŚ.

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB. *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇīnām* RV MS. TB.

agne devānām ava heda ikṣva (ApŚ *iyakṣva*) KS ApŚ : *ava devānām yaja
    hedo agne* AV   The problematic *ikṣva* is here appraised as root-
    present, for *iyakṣva* see §236.

maghavāno vi rapśante (ŚŚ *rapśate*) AV. ŚŚ.   For the 'root' *rapś* see
    Bloomfield, *IF*. 25 192ff

praśāstah pra suhi (KŚ *sūhi*, MŚ *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AŚ ŚŚ. KŚ
    ApŚ. MŚ.   In ApŚ. compound of the other readings.

etān ghnatatān gṛhṇīta ApMB.· *etān hatatān badhnīta* HG.   See above.

pitā no bodhi (TA. *bodha*) VS. ŚB. TA   *bodha* is an extreme analogical
    formation in the spirit of the *a*-conjugation   Comm. at TA. 4. 7.
    4, foolishly, = *bodhaya*

somo dadad (SMB. GG. PG. '*dadad*, HG '*dadād*) *gandharvāya, gandharvo
    dadad* (SMB PG. '*dadad*) *agnaye* (HG *gandharvo'gnaye'dadāt*) RV.
    AV SMB. GG PG ApMB HG. MG.   But see §266; and cf. the
    next four

tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS MS *dadat*) KS ApŚ. MŚ.

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG SMB

sa tvaitebhyah pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV AV. TA N.   Cf.
    the prec three, next, and §§ 167, 11.

datto asmabhyam (etc , §250, p 165) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS. AŚ
   SMB , *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS
sam vasāthām (MS. MŚ. *vasethām*) *svarvidā* (KS. °*dāu*) VS TS MS KS
   ŚB MŚ   And·
vyacasvatī sam vasāthām (MS *vasethām*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Stems
   vaste and *vasate* from *vas* 'clothe'   [So Bloomfield wrote, but the
   interpretation is very dubious   No *vasate* 'clothes' is recorded
   Keith on TS seems to understand *vas* 'dwell', as if from a type
   vaste, which is equally unknown from this root.   Mahīdhara on
   VS , *āchādayatam* (apparently *vas* 'clothe').   The meaning is
   obscure.   Possibly MS understands a form of *vas* 'dwell' (*vasate*),
   and the others *vas* 'clothe' (*vaste*). F E]
[*ye dadate* (JUB. *dadante*) *pañca diśah sadhrīcīh* AV JUB.   But here
   there is no real variant, all mss of AV read *dadante*, and
   Whitney's Transl restores it to the text]

Interchange between a and aya formations

§194   Aside from formations which may with more or less confidence
be called causatives, and which we treat separately as such (§§237ff),
this type includes hardly anything but forms of the two roots *mṛd*
'pity' and *hū* 'call'.   The popular (rather than 'late') form *hvayāmi* is
shown to be prehistoric by Avestan *zbayemi*, it is doubtless a mere acci-
dent that it alone survives as a present formation from this root in
classical Sanskrit, while *huvá* and *háva*, both of which interchange with
hvaya, become extinct   See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21 48   In the follow-
ing small list the verbs determine but rarely the relative chronology of the
passages·
apasedhan (SV.† °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV SV
   Here *mṛda* (should = *mṛ́da*, and hence metrically out of place)
   together with the patchword *no* are clearly inferior readings in SV.
tayā no mṛda jīvase VS VSK TS MS KS NīlarU   *tayā no rudra*
   mṛdaya TS.   The parallel is only vague
sa nah prajāyai haryaśva mṛdaya (AV KS *mṛda*) RV. AV TS KS.
te no mṛdayata (AV *mṛdata*) AV TS ApMB
te no mṛdayantu (MS *mṛdantu*) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB.
tau no mṛdayatām (MS *mṛdatām*) TS MS ApMB
huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram*
   RV AV SV VS. TS. MS KS MahānU
sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV AV. KS.   Comm on AV.
   ahvayanta.

[As to the variant quoted in Conc. as: *apām napātam aśvinā huve dhiyā* (TS. *aśvinā hvayantām*) AV. TS , the word *hvayantām* is an error for *hayantam* (pple of *hi* 'impel') in TS.]

In a single variation between parallel pādas in the Vālakhilya hymns the stems *svada* and *svadaya* interchange without difference in meaning, nevertheless, *svadaya* may be considered a causative, cf. §240: *yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah* RV. (Vāl). *yam te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayah* RV. (Vāl)

Interchange between intransitive ya-stems and others

§195 The prevailing intransitive present formation in *ya* occasionally offers refuge to intransitives of other formation. One is inclined to regard the *ya* forms as generally secondary, cf Delbruck, *AI Synt* 277. The nasal formation *trmpa* (Avestan θ *raf-*) is old, and *manve* is more organic than *manye.*

hutāhutasya trpyatam (KS ŚŚ *trmpatam*) KS. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

tasya trmpatam ahāhāhuhū ŚŚ *tena trpyatam anhahau* TB. ApŚ

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB: *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema* Vait. The Conc. suggests reading *sadam* in TB · but the comm. has *adham,* interpreting it by *anantaram*

brahmaitad upāsvaitat (MahānU. *upāsyaitat*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. But Poona ed of TA agrees with MahānU. (with v 1 *upāsv°*)

manye vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau ArS.: *manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī* AV Vait.

tapate (or *ātapate,* so KSA acc to v. Schroeder, TS both, acc to Weber, VS *tapyate*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA. TA

yat te krūram . tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām;* MS *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB. ApŚ

Here we may also place the somewhat anomalous *hṛnīya* of SV ·

mā hṛnīthā abhy asmān RV.: *vājebhir mā hṛnīyathāh* SV. The alternative would be to regard *hṛnīya* as a sort of denominative.

Different treatments of the same root which produce the effect of different present systems

§196 Here and there sundry morphological processes differentiate one and the same root in such a way as to leave behind two forms which may be regarded as two roots, but which in any case manifest themselves in different present formations. The Hindu lexicons postulate a root *ūrnu* which is obviously nothing but an obscured and extended *nu*-present of the root *vṛ* (**yeru*) 'cover'. The archaic form *ūrnuhi* inter-

changes with the conventional *vṛṇu* in one case below. Similarly the
roots *dhvar* and *dhūrv* are intricate precipitates of a type *dharu* (cf
tvar and *tūrv. taru*), as Bloomfield as shown in *JAOS.* 16 clxi = *BB.*
23. 109. Compare the relation of *ramnātu raṇvatu*, and *rama
raṇva*, above, §191.

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmaḥ VS TS ŚB. TB : *yam vayam dhvarāma
     tam dhvara* (KS. *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS KS
dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati VS TS ŚB TB. *dhvara dhvarantam yo
     asmān dhvarāt* MS
abhy enam bhūma ūrṇuhi (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV. AV. TA.

Accented and unaccented a-presents (1st and 6th class)

§197. The most conspicuous are those from the root *hū* 'call ' The
presents *huva* and *hava* interchange with each other, as well as with
hvaya (§194); the instances are gathered in §2 and are not repeated here
Most of the other cases, and indeed some of the *huva· hava* cases, have
phonetic aspects, concerning the phonetic variation of *a·u* before *v*, see
§23, where are presented three such variants concerning *brū* (stems
brava bruva), and one concerning *hnu* (*hnava.hnuva*)   The only other
instance we have noted is.

(*pra*   ) *suvīrābhis tirate* (SV. TS *tarati*) *vājabharmabhih* (SV. TS.
     °*karmabhih*) RV SV. TS KS (Correct Conc)   Here *pra tirate* is
     superior to *pra tarati,* if for no other reason because *pra tara-* occurs
     but a single time in RV (10 53 8), whereas *pra tira-* is common
     For the stanza as a whole cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg* 281.

Reduplicated and other presents

§198 In two pādas concerning the root *vṛt*, Kauś has *vavṛtsva* (a
Rigvedic archaism; *ā-vavṛtsva* and *abhi-ā-vavṛtsva* both RV., see Grass-
mann) where other texts have *vartasva·*

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva (TS *abhi na ā vartasva;* KS *abhi
     no ni vartasva,* MS. *abhi māvartasva,* Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS
     TS. MS KS. ŚB Kauś
punar ūrjā ni vartasva (Kauś *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB.
     LŚ MŚ. Kauś

The variant *īyāna* of SV. for *iyāna* may be classed as a reduplicated
present middle participle, there seems no ground for calling it intensive
(cf Whitney, *Roots,* s.v)

iyānaḥ (*SV. īy°*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraih* RV. AV SV KS. TA
stotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav iyānaḥ (SV. *īy°*) RV AV. SV

The remaining cases concern modal forms of roots *dā* and *dhā*, re-
duplicated and unreduplicated   But the unreduplicated forms may,
quite as well, be considered root-aorists (cf §210, a):

te no dhāntu (SV *dhatta*) *suvīryam* RV. SV.

punar dātām (TA. *dattāv*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV. AV. TA. *dattāv* is
    unaccented in TA and is surely to be read *dattām*, comm. *dattau
    prayachatām* (understanding perfect passive pple with active mean-
    ing[1])

devīr āpo apām napād.   .taṁ devebhyo devatra (MS *devebhyah śukrape-
    bhyo) dhatta* (VS ŚB. *datta*, MS. KS *dāta*) ..VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

b. *Interchanges between different Aorist systems*

§199. Considering the large number of available aorist systems, and
their general equivalence in meaning, the number of interchanges be-
tween them is not large   The only one which can be differentiated as
to meaning is the reduplicated aorist, with its well-known tendency to
association with the causative.   Even this difference appears but rarely
among the variants, which in fact present only a few cases of redupli-
cated aorist forms exchanging with others, and those few are generally
not distinguishable in meaning from their rivals.   We may remember
that other 'causative' forms are from the earliest period of the language
frequently used in senses that are indistinguishable from transitive
forms of the simple verb.   And even intransitive reduplicated aorists
are found; see the variant *ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā adidyutat* (*atidyutat*),
below.

§200 Otherwise the variations are purely formal, without possible
semantic bearings.   The old non-thematic *s*-aorist (Whitney, *Grammar*
§888ff) of the type *askāntsam, askān, askān*, results in 2d and 3d singu-
lar forms which often resemble those of the root-aorist; this has yielded
a rather constant interchange between the forms *askān* and *askan;* or
compare again the threefold variation between *ruk, rok*, and *rauk* from
ruc, below   These variations may be considered, at least in part, pho-
netic as much as morphological.   Phonetic considerations are even more
clearly involved in variations like *acārṣam: acāriṣam* (see §286, a) which
on their face are *s* and *iṣ*-aorists, but in large part are really cases of
svarabhakti (Whitney, *Grammar* §230c).   Phonetic, likewise, is the
variant *āprā(h); āprād*, before *dyāvā-* (see §24).   On the whole the list
of aorist forms is very miscellaneous and presents a rather haphazard
aspect   A number of the forms are more or less doubtful as to which
aorist class they belong to, or whether they are properly called aorists

at all. Attention will be called to such cases specifically   We number
the various aorist types in accordance with Whitney.

§201. *Reduplicated Aorists (Class 3) and others*

gaṇān me mā vi tītṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ 'do not (let him not) make
   my troops go thirsty': *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS. ŚB 'may my
   troops not go thirsty.'   Here the proper causative sense of the 3d
   aor. is apparent, and varies with a non-causative 2d aor.

udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS. *aṅgrabhat*, KS *aṅgrabham* and *aṅgṛbham*)
   VS TS MS KS ŚB 3 and 5 aor , no difference of meaning; both
   active, 'he has (I have) lifted up'

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīh (TS *śūśucah*, KS *śucah*; MS *hinsīh*) VS
   TS. MS. KS ŚB. 2, 3, and 5 aor., all active, 'scorch', no difference
   of meaning.

maināṁ arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS *maināṁ tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīh*
   (KS *śocah*; TS. *śūśucah*) VS TS MS KS   As in prec.: 3 and
   5 aor. (*śocah* is imperfect injunctive)

amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś *yathābhāgam yathālokam*)
   āvṛṣāyiṣata (AŚ *āvṛṣāyiṣata*, ŚŚ. *avīvṛṣata*) VS VSK. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
   LŚ Kauś SMB GG. KhG   Both the forms are somewhat prob-
   lematic, most texts apparently have a 5 aor. from a denominative
   (*vṛṣan*), while ŚŚ has a 3 aor from the primary root *vṛṣ;* both
   must mean in the last analysis something like 'they eagerly obtained
   each his portion '   See §§243, 285.

yata śocatad agnāv eva tat AŚ . *yata śocatad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ ·
   yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat MŚ · *dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat*
   ApŚ   Both forms intransitive, 'dropped'.   But the MŚ. reading
   cuścutad is a very doubtful emendation of corrupt mss , in all
   probability *śocatad* is the real reading.   See further §219, end   The
   2 aor. *aścutat* is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from Hindu gram-
   marians

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK *atidyutat*) *savīmani*
   AV. SV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ N   The VSK read-
   ing is obviously secondary, and phonetic in character; but it is
   worth noting that the 3 aor. form is here (like the substituted
   2 aor.) intransitive ('shone')

Sigmatic Aorists varying with non-sigmatic

§202. *1st and 4th Aorists*
askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā KŚ : *askān ṛṣabho yuvā gāh* TB TA ApŚ

askann (ŚŚ. *askān*) *adhita prājani* ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ : *askān ajani prājani* TB TA. ApŚ

askan parjanyah pṛthivīm KŚ . *askān dyauh pṛthivīm* TB TA ApŚ

askān (GB *askan*) *somah* KS GB

brahman somo 'skan (KS ApŚ *'skān*) KS. GB Vait. ApŚ.

drapsas te dyām mā skan (KS ApŚ. *skān*, MS *te dwam mā skān*) VS. MS KS ŚB ApŚ.

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc cha°*) *payasā sameti* (TB *sametya*) TB. Vait *ahāh* is 3d person, 'he hath quitted his body' etc.

āprā (AV *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* RV AV. (both) ArS VS TS MS KS. ŚB. TB. AA TA N. *āprā(h)* is 3d sing , the AV. form is certainly secondary, it has phonetic aspects, see §24.

bhūyānso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣṭa Kauś *bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta* MS Same with *annādā bhū°*

asmaddvisah sunītho mā parā daih MS · *dvisā sunīte mā parādāh* TA. The MS form is best taken as an irregular 4 aor , cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §894c, for the closest known parallels. *dāh* might also, tho less probably, be classed as 4 aor.

api panthām aganmahi (TS. ApŚ *agasmahi*) RV. TS MS KS AŚ ApŚ. ŚG

rasena sam aganmahi (RV. *agasmahi*) RV KS LŚ

adarśus (ŚŚ *adrākṣus*) *tvā śāsahastam* AB ŚŚ *adarśus* is altogether irregular, and its ending seems borrowed from *adrākṣus*.

mā bheh VS. TS ŚB TB. KŚ ApŚ : *mā bhaih* MS KS. MŚ. Best taken as 1 and 4 aor.

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK. TS ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS. *rauñ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS *rauñ* (*rauk*) is clearly 4 aor , *roñ* and *ruñ* seem both to be best classed as 1 aor.

§203. *1st and 5th Aorists*

mā pṛnan pūrtyā vi rādhiṣta (TS *rādhi*) TS MS. KS. *rādhi* is of course passive, see §87 and Whitney §843.

iṣam ūrjam sam agrabham (TS *agrabhīm*) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. Obviously *agrabhīm* is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhīt;* see §262, d.

§204 *2d and 4th Aorists*

āpo malam iva prānaikṣīt (ApŚ. *prānijan*) AV. ApŚ

§205 *2d and 5th (and, once, 7th) Aorists*

bahu hāyam (MS *ha vā ayam*) *avarṣīd* (TS *avṛṣād*, KS *avṛṣad*) *iti* ..TS MS. KS But this variant is only very doubtfully placed here. *avṛṣād* (see Keith on TS 2. 4. 7 2) can only be an error for *avṛṣaā*, which may perhaps better be regarded as imperfect than as 2 aor.

ent tenses; the value of such pairs is *a fortiori* identical   Modal forms from stems other than present or aorist are rare in all periods, so it happens that all the correspondences of this rubric are between present and aorist   Non-sigmatic aorists are, moreover, frequently indistinguishable from formally identical present system forms   This introduces into the group pairs which may be judged, and have been judged in grammars and lexicons, to be merely corresponding forms of different present systems, such as *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* in relation to *kṛnu* (*kuru*) and *kṛṇuṣva;* or *pātam* to *pibatam,* or *śrotā* to *śṛnota.* Contrariwise, some modal pairs rubricated as coming from two different present stems, such as *yukṣva yuñkṣva* (§192), may be construed as aorists; such items should, perhaps, be listed in both places   We are inclined to regard the doubtful forms in such pairs as aorists, tho we have followed scholarly tradition in classing *yukṣva* as present. See our discussion §10ff

§209. In Classical Sanskrit the prohibitive with *mā* is regularly an augmentless aorist.   In the Veda augmentless imperfects are commoner, and this has produced a group of variants in which augmentless forms of the two tenses vary with each other, in addition to the general instability of the prohibitive moods as summarized in §§181f. The following two rubrics list the tense interchanges in connection with the same mood, first in categorical and then in prohibitive clauses.

§210. *Interchanges of the same mood in different tenses in categorical clauses*

(a) *Imperatives*

tato no abhayam kṛdhi (ŚŚ **kuru*) RV. AV. SV. VS AB. PB TB. TA. AŚ ŚŚ (both) ApŚ MŚ MahānŪ

suputrām subhagām kuru (RV. *kṛnu,* SMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG.

patim ekādaśam kṛdhi (SMB. HG *kuru*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG. In same stanza as prec. Note that all texts vary the form, except HG which has *kuru* both times

patim me kevalam kuru (AV. ApMB *kṛdhi*) RV. AV. ApMB.

parācīnā mukhā kṛdhi (KS. *kuru*) AV VS TS. MS. KS

vi jihīṣva lokam kṛnu AV.. *vi jihīrṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA.

athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva RV †· *adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛṇuṣva* AV. (poor meter).

vivasva ādityaiṣa te somapīthas tena (KS. *tasmin*) *mandasva*   TS KS . *vivasvann* (VSK. *°vān*) *ādityaiṣa te somapīthas tasmin matsva* VS. VSK ŚB. Contrary to Whitney, *Roots,* we regard *matsva* as 4 aor. rather than present.

aśvinā gharmam pātam (MS *pıbatam*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ. ApŚ
   pātam may be present
dıvam gacha svar vında yajamānāya mahyam MŚ · *devān gacha suvar*
   vıda (ApŚ. *vında*) etc TB. ApŚ
rayım gṛnatsu dıdhṛtam (and *dhāraya*) RV. (both).   See *RV Rep.* 271,
   528
śṛnota (VS ŚB *śrotā*) *grāvāno vıduṣo nu* (VS ŚB *na*) *yajñam* VS TS
   MS KS
devīr āpah śuddhā yūyam devān yuyudhvam (KS *yūdhvam*) MS KS
   Cf *āpo devīh śuddhāyuvah śuddhā yūyam devān ūdhvam* TS. *devīr*
   āpah śuddhā vodhvam suparıvışṭā deveṣu VS ŚB
tasmın (Vaıt MŚ.·*tasmıns*) *tad eno vasavo nı dhetana* (Vaıt *dhattana*)
   RV. TAA. Vaıt MŚ
ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādıtyāh sadantu VS ŚB : *vasūnām rudrānām ādıtyā-*
   nām sadası sīda TS TB ApŚ.
sā mā samıddhāyuṣā ..*samıntām* (one ms *samındhatām*) TA *sā mā*
   samıddhā ..*samındhışatām* MS

See also the doubtful cases rubricated in §198 as interchanges between
root-presents (but possibly aorists) and reduplıcatıng presents, *datta·*
dāta, dhāntu dhatta, dātam dattam

   (b) *Subjunctıves*

sa (AV *sā*) *nah śarma trıvarūtham vı yansat* (AV. *nı yachāt*) RV. AV.
   MS KS TB. ApŚ
kataro menım pratı tam mucāte (Vaıt. *muñcāte*) RV. Vaıt *muñcāte* is
   metrıcally ınferıor   But *mucāte* may, less probably, be regarded
   as present, § 192

   (c) *Injunctıves*

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañcasva*) *pṛthıvı mā nı bādhathāh* (TA *vı bādhı-*
   thāh) RV. AV TA

   (d) *Optatıves*

yuyuyātām tto rapo apa srıdhah RV. *yūyātām asmad rapo apa srıdhah*
   TB ApŚ
parı vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (TB *vṛjyāt*) RV TB   Other versıons of
   thıs ancıent formula §104, u   The RV form ıs archaıc
devasya (*devasyāham*) *savıtuh save* (*prasave*)   *nākam ruhcyam* (GB
   roheyam) VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB TB GB Vaıt MŚ ApŚ LŚ
marto vurīta (TS *vṛṇīta*, KS *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
   See next
dyumnam (KS * °*ne*) *vṛṇīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyotu*) RV. VS TS
   MS. KS ŚB *vṛṇīta* might be called ınjunctıve, but the parallels
   make ıt preferable to class ıt as optatıve.

§211 *Prohibitive Injunctives (augmentless preterites)*

Imperfect (one 'pluperfect') and aorist

ṛha mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. vepi͡dhvam) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA. vṛkṣau) sam bādhiṣṭa (TA bādhiṣṭām, and bādhethām) AV. TA.

mainam agne vi daho mābhi śocaḥ (AV. śūśucaḥ) RV. AV. TA AŚ. In a triṣṭubh stanza

mainām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS. mainām tapasā mārciṣābhi) śocīh (KS. śocaḥ, TS. śūśucah) VS TS. MS KS

mā bhaiṣīr (RVKh AV bibher) na mariṣyasi RVKh AV SMB. GG. ApMB.· na mar° mā bibheh AV.

ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan mā divā svāpsīh Kauś . mā divā suṣupthāh (SMB GG. HG svāpsīh) ŚG. SMB GG PG HG.: mā suṣupthāh ŚB ApMB : divā mā svāpsīh AG suṣupthāh is augmentless preterite perfect, or pluperfect injunctive.

3 TRUE INTERCHANGES OF TENSE

INDICATIVES OF VARIOUS TENSES VARYING WITH EACH OTHER (ALSO A FEW PARTICIPLES)

[§212. These may be called 'true interchanges of tense' in the sense that, in the Veda at any rate, the several tense-forms are commonly understood to carry differences of function. To be sure, as between what we call 'present' and 'preterite', for instance, or between the various types which serve, or may serve, as preterites, the distinctions are not always 'temporal' in a narrow sense And we shall find here again an elasticity of function quite similar to that which we met in our study of the moods, tho conditioned, of course, by somewhat different circumstances We shall discuss the examples under three heads· a Interchanges between the Preterites, b Interchanges between Present and the Preterites, and c. Interchanges between Future and the other tenses We may remind the reader that the list of Interchanges between more than two modal varieties (§104) contains several variants which should be added to the following lists

a Interchanges between the Preterites

§213 The recent work of Renou (*La Valeur du Parfait dans les hymnes védiques*, Paris, 1925) has absorbed and largely superseded most previous

work on the Vedic tenses   Chapter III of that book, more especially pages 29-82, is devoted to a searching study of the preterite use of the perfect and its relation to the corresponding uses of the imperfect and aorist   The work is carried out with great learning, diligence, and acumen, and its results are not likely to be overthrown in any important respects (cf the review published in *JAOS* 49. 64 ff)   Of special interest to us are the remarks on page 41, towards the bottom, where, referring to Bloomfield's article 'On the instability in the use of moods', *AJP.* 23 1ff , Renou says 'la variation dans les temps n'est pas moins manifeste.'   Such indeed seems from the variants to be the case   The aorist was shown long ago by Delbruck *AI Tempuslehre*, 5ff., *Vgl Synt* 2 240 f to be specially appropriate to facts falling within the experience of the speaker, of which he knows personally, consequently, to recent events, and facts about which special confidence exists or is claimed   Hence what we have referred to as the 'prophetic aorist', which is a special favorite, as we saw, in expressing as already accomplished things which the speaker ardently desires (cf. Renou 26f., calling attention to its frequency in magic charms)   Hence its variation with the modal forms, described above, and with the present indicative, below   The imperfect and perfect are often used more or less interchangeably referring to events of the remoter past (Renou 30 ff), such difference as is discernible between perfect and imperfect as narrative tenses appears often in this, that the perfect expresses facts of greater permanence (Renou 49) or importance (65), and is frequently used in standing formulas (64), as distinguished from the normal imperfect of simple narration   Meter often plays a part in the choice of tense-form (Renou 45 f), thus in the RV itself we find the variant

ava tmanā dhṛṣatā (bṛhatah) śambaram bhinat (7 18 20 *bhet*), 1 54 4 and 7. 18 20,

where *bhinat*, imperfect, and *bhet*, aorist, are merely *jagatī* and *triṣtubh* forms of precisely the same idea   It would be pedantry to try to find any real difference here.   Metrical convenience certainly plays a part in a number of other variants, tho it is not always as clear as here

§214 Even the 'prophetic aorist' is paralleled by equally 'prophetic' uses of the other preterites   One evidence of this is the general fact that, as we saw (§§127 ff), they vary with modal forms only less frequently than the aorist   But further, the aorist appears in direct and apparently unstrained exchange with other preterites, and that too occasionally in places which seem to cry out for a 'prophetic' form Thus,

trīny āyūṃṣi te 'karam AV , 'I have made three lives for thee ' What could be more 'prophetic' than this aorist, more in keeping with the medicine man's confident blah of sorcerous intent? Yet, in a (doubtless later) form of the same pāda, JUB reads

trīny āyūṃṣi me 'kṛṇoh, 'thou hast made three lives for me', with imperfect instead of aorist

§215 Again, a formula where our sense demands a perfect, because it refers to Indra's mythic conquests, appears in the RV itself with perfect and aorist interchanging

vy āsa (āna d) ṃdrah pṛtanāh svojāh, 'Indra hath conquered all battles, in his great strength '

Can the aorist here possibly be justified as picturing the event as coming within the certain knowledge of the speaker? It seems doubtful Compare also below, §219, *yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (mumoca),* where aorist and perfect interchange in a pāda for which the imperfect seems demanded by the usual rules

§216 It is, of course, evident that the mere appearance of the same formula with now one preterite tense, now another, does not prove that both have precisely the same meaning For it is not difficult to slip from one psychological attitude into another, while still envisaging the same event And we shall show below (see, e g , the pāda *ṛtasya yonau mahisā ahinvan* etc , §217) that sometimes the alteration is eminently suited to a changed situation Yet, when all is said and done, and when allowance has been made for the fact that the variants are far less numerous here than in the case of the moods, they seem to show conclusively that there is no very great wrench in substituting one preterite for another, and so furnish presumptive evidence in favor of great laxity in their use —F E]

§217 *Imperfect and Aorist*

ava tmanā dhṛṣatā (and, *brhatah*) *śambaram bhinat* (and, *bhet*) RV (both). See above

trīny āyūṃṣi te karam (JUB *me kṛṇoh*) AV. JUB   See above

tābhih samrabdham anv aṃndan (TB *samrabdho aṃdat*) *sad urvīh* AV. TB   The TB improves the meter.

avṃdac charyanāvati (MS °*dañ sar*°) MS KS. *tad ṃdac charyanārati* RV. AV SV TB

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB   *akṛnoh sūryatiacam* RV. AV   JB : *avakṛnot sūryatvacam* MG

yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptat (HG *vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat*) *phalam* (AV.

phalam tat) AV HG.. *(yadı vr̥kṣād yady antarıkṣāt) phalam abhya-*
paptat ApMB.

apām stoḷo abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB. °*paptac chıvena,* HG °*patac*
chıvāya) AV ApMB HG

ulūkhalā (ApMB *aulū°,* AV *vānaspatyā) grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG.
akurvata) AV ApMB HG MG *akurvata* is shown by the meter to
be secondary, the MG substitutes the ordinary narrative imperfect
for the archaıc aorıst

r̥tasya yonau (RV *yonā) mahıṣā ahınvan* (RV *aheṣata)* RV TS KS
ApMB. The aorıst ıs 'the normal tense to descrıbe the opera-
tıons of the sacrıfice' (Renou 31), and so ıs appropriate to thıs de-
scrıptıon of the soma-pressıng ın RV 9 ˙86 25d In fact the YV.
pāda ıs a blend of thıs pāda wıth RV 10 45 3d *apām upasthe*
mahıṣā avardhan, and preserves the ımperfect whıch ıs appropriate
to that verse, ın a mythıc narratıve relatıng to Agnı

parı ṣya suvāno akṣāh RV *(akṣār,* 3d sıng 4 aor) *parı sya svāno akṣarat*
SV The SV has a later and sımpler form, whıch also eases the
meter See next

pavıtre somo akṣāh (SV *akṣarat)* RV SV As prec

asapatnā kılābhuvam (ApMB °*bhavam)* RV ApMB Cf *asapatnah*
kılābhuvam RV. In thıs and the next four varıants phonetıc con-
sıderatıons are ınvolved, and help to explaın the varıatıon ıf they
do not completely account for ıt, see §23

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV °*bhuvat) sacā* RV SV KS

nemıś cakram wābhavat (SV. MS °*bhuvat)* RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuvah)* RV SV

yad dūre sann ıkābhavah (SV. °*bhuvah)* RV SV. MŚ N

apaśyam (and, *adr̥śan) tvāvarohantam* NılarU (both) The second (aor)
ıs a conscıous modıficatıon of the first (ımperf), several stanzas
before ıt, wıth change of person and number No more than
stylıstıc reasons can have dıctated the change (varıety for ıts own
sake, perhaps)

savıtā vy akalpayat ŚG *sınīvāly çcīklpat* AV The ımperfect ıs clearly
secondary, cf *akarat akr̥noh* above, to whıch thıs ıs quıte sımılar

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ '*po) aganīgan* (TS KS ApŚ *agamat)* VS TS
MS KSA ApŚ. MŚ The ımperf. ıntensıve ıs better than the
aorıst, as Keıth observes on TS 7 4 20 1, mythıc events are re-
ferred to

yo ma dadātı sa ıd eva māvāh (ArS. Nr̥pU *māvat)* ArS TB TA. TU
Nr̥pU N The comm on TB *āvāh* = *āvr̥notı, svīkarotı āvāh*

seems indeed to be 4 aor. 3d sing of *ā + vṛ*   But Deussen, *60 Up.*
240 and 765 'wer mich austeilt, der labt mich eben damit.'
[*abhi tvā varcasāsiñcan* (KS TB °*sicam*) AV. KS. TB.   But the true
AV. reading is °*sican*, see Whitney's note on 4. 8. 6.]

§218 *Imperfect and Perfect*

apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha (RV.* VS. ŚB. *mahiṣa avardhan*) RV
(both) AV. SV. VS. ŚB TA.   'In the lap of the waters the mighty
one (Agni) throve (thrives)', a statement of permanent truth, in
the imperfect version Agni is the object, and the verb is narrative
of mythical events, 'the mighty ones increased (Agni).'

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV : *vi yo rajānsy amimīta sukratuh* RV.
agnir hotā ni ṣasādā yajīyān RV. TS MS. KS.: *hotā mandro ni*° *ya*°
RV. MS KS. TB   *agnir hotā ny asīdad yajīyān* RV. MS. KS AB.
AŚ

ṛṣir hotā ny asīdat (TS † *ni ṣasādā*) *pitā nah* RV. VS. TS MS. KS
tvam ā tatanthorv (ArS. *tanor urv*) *antarikṣam* RV. ArS VS. MS. KS. TB.
ny anyā arkam abhito vivíśre (AV. '*viśanta;* JB. *viviśyuh*) RV. AV JB.
ŚB. AA.

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV. *yāś ca tatnire*) AV. SMB. PG.
ApMB HG · *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG   Note the precisely
parallel verbs, imperf. and perf , in AV., apparently the older
form, in the others tense-assimilation

anavas te ratham aśvāya takṣan (SV. *takṣuh*) RV SV. TS. MS KS.   But
takṣuh is regarded by some scholars as aorist; see Renou 56;
Wackernagel, I 1, p XV

vi mamarśa rohito viśvarūpah TB : *vi rohito amṛśad viśvarūpam* AV.

abhi pra nonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) *girah* RV SV *nonuvur* perf. (Whitney,
Grammar §1018a), *nonavur* augmentless imperf.   But see §23.

aham viveca (KS *astabhnām*) *pṛthivīm uta dyām* AV KS.

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *mā*°, TS ApMB * *yam abadhnīta*, MŚ MG. *yaj
jagrantha*) *savitā suśevah* (AV °*vāh*, TS. ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ. MG.
satyadharmā) RV. AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB MG

prajā ha tisro (AV JB *tisro ha prajā*) *atyāyam īyuh* (AV. *āyan*) RV AV.
JB ŚB AA

kim svid vanam ka u sa vṛkṣa āsīt (RV. VS *āsa*) RV VS. TS. MS KS.
TB   Cf Renou 43, and next

āpo bhadrā (MS. KS *devīr*) *ghṛtam id āpa āsan* (TS *āsuh*, MS *ghṛtam-
invā ū āpah*) AV TS MS KS Cf. prec

indrāvathuh (VSK °*vadnuh*, KS * TB ApŚ °*vatam*) *kāvyair* (TB. ApŚ
karmaṇā) *dansanābhih* RV. AV. VS VSK. MS KS (both) ŚB.
TB ApŚ.

yena devā amṛtam anv avindan AV   *yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuh* RV
asya made ahim indro jaghāna RV   *asya made jaritar indro 'him ahan*
ŚŚ

prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā AV MS KS Kauś SMB GG KhG   *yā*
prathamā vyauchat TS. PG HG   *arhanā putravāsasā* (read, *putra*
uvāsa sā, see Jorgensen on SMB. 2 8 1) SMB GG.

(devīr dvāra indram samghāte) vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan (TB *vidvīr*
yāman vavardhayan) VS TB   If correct, *vavardhayan* would be a
nonce-blend of imperf and perf , but Poona ed of TB reads *yā-*
mann avar°, and this is doubtless the true reading

§219 *Aorist and Perfect*

vy ānad (and, *āsa*) *indrah pṛtanāh svojāh* RV (both)   See above, §215
yena śravānsy ānaśuh (SV *āśata*) RV SV   Reference is to ancient
   events, the aor is inappropriate
viśvam id dhītam (MS *dhitam*) *ānasuh* (SV *āsata*) RV AV SV MS
   ApŚ   As prec
narāśanse (VS *nārā°*) *somapīthaṃ ya āśuh* (KS *ānaśuh*) VS MS KS
   TB   But *āśuh* may also, and perhaps preferably, be taken as per-
   fect.   The sense certainly does not suggest the aorist
naro yat̃ te duduhur dakṣinena TB   *naro yad vā te hastayor adhukṣan*
   Vait   Reference is to pressing of the soma, most naturally felt in
   Vait as that which has just taken place, the aor is more appropriate
yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (TA *mumoca*) MS TA 'By which (Trita)
   freed (of old) the sun from darkness '   An instructive case   Accord-
   ing to our feeling the imperfect would be required, since reference
   is to a mythic event   Yet TA has the perfect, and MS the (wholly
   inappropriate) aorist!
na sīm adeva āpat (SV *āpa tat*) RV. SV ŚŚ   'No godless man has (ever)
   attained (or attains. sc wealth)   A most general statement, to
   which it would seem that the perfect would be appropriate, yet it
   is found only in the secondary SV , which may have been influ-
   enced by a desire to improve the meter
achidrośijah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuh (so emended, ms *padāni takṣiṣvat*)
   KS   *achidrā uśijah padānu takṣuh* TS   Cf the variant *anavas te*
   etc , §218
iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS ApŚ *ādade,* MS KS MŚ *ādi*) VS
   TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS † *nah*) *pitābhūt* (VSK *pitāsa*) VS VSK
   TS MS ŚB

vrajam gomantam uśijo vi vavruh (KS. *uśijo apa vran*) RV AV VS TS
MS KS. ApMB. 'The eager (fathers, of old) opened the stall
of cows.' Aorist seems out of place, unless KS. feels the act as
brought down into the immediate past

viśvā adhi śriyo dadhe RV · ' *dhita* RV KS TB . *dhiṣe* (present) RV.
The aor. *'dhita* (10 127 1) has Night for subject; 'she has (just
now) assumed all glories ' The perfect *dadhe* (2 8. 5) is said of
Agni, and is a general and more or less permanent statement, and
substantially equivalent is the present of 10 21 3, of which the
subject is also Agni. Is *dhiṣe* possibly modal? Cf. §165

vāk patamgāya śiśriye TS . *vāk patamgo aśiśriyat* (KS °*gā aśiśrayuh*) AV.
KS. See note in Whitney on AV 6 31 3, and cf. Cone

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB °*bhaiṣam*, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG.
ApMB HG. *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh See §§206, 267.
jagrabham is pluperfect

dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat ApŚ (*dyaur* belongs to the prec pāda,
and probably *yata ścutad* is the true reading): *pṛthivyām avacuśco-
taitat* TB ApŚ · *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ . *yata ścutad
dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ : *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat* MŚ (so
emended, but a better emendation, quite as close to the mss ,
would be *yatra ścutad*). The aorist *aścutat* is quoted only from
grammarians in Whitney's *Roots*

§220. *Pluperfect and other Preterites*

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (°*bhaiṣam, nāma jagrabham*); *pitur nāmeva
jagrabha*, see just above

priyām yamas tanvam prārirecīt (classed as anomalous plup , AV *tan-
vam ā rireca*) RV AV

punsah kartur mātary āsiṣikta JB . *punsā kartrā mātari mā niṣiñca*
(read *niṣiñcata?*) KBU Acc to Deussen, *60 Up.* 25, three mss of
KBU read *mā asiṣikta*

indrāya suṣuvur (MS KS *indrāyāsuṣuvur*) *madam* VS MS KS TB.
But see §267

ayam dhruvo rayīnām cikela yat (SV *ciketad ā*) RV. SV *ciketad* could,
of course, be considered modal, but the sense of the passage suggests
that it is better taken as augmentless plup (cf. Whitney, *Grammar*
§820)

yāś ca (AV *yā*) *devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān* (AV *antān;* PG *devīs tantūn*)
abhito 'dadanta (SMB † *'tatantha*, PG *tatantha*) AV ApMB SMB.
PG The form *'tatantha* is a corruption, evidently felt as 3 plur.

plup mid , for °*ta* (so Stonner, PG comm reads *tatantha* and takes
it as 2 sing. perf. act , despite the impossible sandhi).

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (so! TA *vya ca sarja*, comm v. 1 *vyasasarja*)
bhūmyām TA. MahānU   The text reading of TA is a mere cor-
ruption; the variant, an anomalous augmented perfect   Hardly
belongs here; see §267.

Cf also the interchange between Present and Pluperfect, §233

b *Interchanges between Present and the Preterites*

§221. The entire business of tense in the mantras is emasculated, as
it were, or at least confused, because these texts are in the main senti-
mental rather than narrative or historical   Legends and legendary
allusions are, of course, narrative, implying some precision in time state-
ments . They occur often enough in the mantras   Indra slew Vṛtra,
or the Aśvins saved the son of Tugra from the machinations of his father,
both in the past   In such cases present or future is unimaginable   But
Indra also hath aided, did aid, aids, shall, and will aid him that calls
upon him   We are again, a large part of the time, in the domain of
modality, either belief, wish, or demand, rather than in the domain of
genuinely statable fact   Fixation in point or quality of time becomes
precarious, because the thing can be and is supposed to happen in any
time.   Some of the cases of interchange between present and perfect
may concern the 'old' use of the perfect, to express something regarded
as permanently established (Renou 7 and *passim*), this is specially
suited to such psychological spheres   Thus in

agnim naras triṣadhasthe sam īdhire (SV TS. *indhate*) RV SV TS
KS 'men have kindled (i e regularly do kindle, or, SV TS , simply
kindle) Agni on his three seats', the action described is applicable to any
situation and time, RV conceives it as a quasi-cosmic fact   But, as
Renou has shown, even the perfect is normally a preterite tense in the
RV , and it is doubtful to what extent we should allow its variation with
the present to seduce us into assuming the old, non-preterite function
for it   For the other preterites exchange about as commonly with the
present as it does, and often it seems clear that whatever difference in
meaning exists is purely sentimental, a matter of the way the poet looks
at things, rather than factual   So that the line of demarcation between
even such tenses as are ordinarily differentiated in Hindu speech is a
good deal effaced   In the RV itself we meet the pāda

ud vām pṛkṣāso madhumanto asthuh (4 45 2 *madhumanta īrate*) RV
4 45 2, 7 60 4, MS , 'your honeyed steeds (O Aśvins) have started

up (rush forth).' We take it that what is really meant in both cases is, 'let them start or rush forth' Similarly,

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ., whom we craved (I crave), he hath come.' The craving is good for all time; a view which would see in the imperfect its regular sense of 'craved of old' is of course neither demonstrable nor refutable.

§222. In the sphere of charms and exorcisms especially, where desire hovers before the eye of the speaker, and all results are imaginary, the tenses indifferently lapse into moods, if sounded to the bottom   The formal tense distinction between the prophetic aorist and the present is merged into a substantially identical modal value for both, as in.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah VS etc , 'we have slain the demon, slain so-and-so, so-and-so is slain', and *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS etc , 'I drive off this demon' Both really mean that the speaker eagerly wants to accomplish the result stated   Naturally, therefore, all the preterites, as well as the present, freely interchange with moods, as we have seen above.

§223. For the rest, even in the quasi-narrative sphere of mythology the tenses intermingle because many myths are not sufficiently stable to keep them from doing so.   Even the RV is the final precipitate of ideas and compositions which had a long past, more so the other Vedic texts   Mythic ideas, such as the freeing of the light cows from the demonic Panis, are thrown forward into the present, as if to be performed over again at the moment, where they mean extracting *dakṣinā*-cows from grudging non-sacrificers   Many other mythic ideas refer not only to definite events in the past, but to habitual performances in harmony with the subject or character of the myth.   Thus the pious, sacrificing sages of the Aṅgiras or Uśij character figure primarily in the past, but easily reproduce themselves in the present

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV AV KS , 'the pious
   called (call) upon Sarasvatī'   To be sure, AV comm   reads
   ahvayanta

tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta (v 1 and p p *°dṛśyā°*) MS   *tām
   dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK *°diśya*) *yajante* (KS † *anudṛśyāyajanta kava-
   yah*) VSK TS KS TB . *tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante* VS ŚB ,
   'her (earth) looking after (pointing to) the sages worship(ped) '

§224 Even an epithet like *prathama* is not sufficient to prevent this transfer to the present, if we may trust Knauer's quotation from an unedited part of MŚ ·

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB ApŚ *°māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ *āsate*) PB TB.

ApŚ. MŚ , 'the all-creators of yore performed (perform) a *sattra*-session.'

§225   In these cases the presents are logically inferior, in two at least, and probably in all three, they represent secondary readings   But no great wrench is required in order to use them   Similarly in *oṣadhayaḥ sam vadante* (VS. *avadanta*) RV. VS VSK. TS , 'the plants confer(red) together.'

yatrausadhīh samagmata RV. VS   *yad oṣadhayaḥ samgachante* (KS *sa-magmata*) TS MS. KS. 'where (when) the plants have come (come) together '

These passages allude to slender, myth-like conceptions which may just as well be conceived in the present as in the past

§226   It may also be remembered that occasionally a present, at all periods of the language, is 'historical', that is used of past events to add liveliness to the narrative   All these considerations, together with the instability of oral tradition, which at times doubtless introduces really faulty variants, account sufficiently for the considerable number of inter-changes between present and all sorts of preterites

§227.   We have alluded above to the special position of the perfect, the use of which has recently been made the object of Renou's study. We may conclude these introductory remarks by mentioning a few va-riants in which perfect forms seem either certainly or very probably to have no preterite value whatever

anu vām ekaḥ pavir ā vavarta (TB. *vavarti*) RV MS TB 'one wagon-tire rolls after you two (Mitra and Varuna).'   The present of TB , tho secondary of course, is as it were an ancient commentary on *vavarta*

prajāḥ pupoṣa purudhā vi rājati RV VS   *prajāḥ piparti bahudhā vi rājati* SV. ArS. MS KS ApŚ 'he prospers (furthers) our offspring manifoldly' etc

sam sūryena rocate (SV *didyute*, VS.* *didyutat*) RV. SV. VS (both) MS. ŚB TA.   Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 345.   Of course *didyutat* may be modal

nindati tvo anu tvo gṛnāti (MS *vavanda*) MS KS : *pīyati tvo anu tvo gṛnāti* RV. VS. TS. ŚB N 'some blame, others praise '   Here the perfect *vavanda*, replacing the present *gṛnāti* and matching the pres-ent *nindati*, can be put down with almost mathematical certainty as non-preterite

§228   The variants are divided into four groups   Present and Im-perfect, Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect respectively.   We have not thought it worth while to burden our lists with such a ritual litany as

MS 4. 9 23–24, where, first, ritual situations are approached anticipatorily, with verbs in the present or future indicative, or in various moods; and then, after the completion of the rite, the same litany is repeated practically verbatim with change of the verbs to preterites, as e g. *agne vratapate vratam carisyāmi . acārṣam* A close parallel to this passage in TA 4. 41. 1–6.

§229. *Present and Imperfect*

ulūkhalā (ApMB. *aul°*) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG *akurvata*) ApMB. HG MG : *aulūkhalāh sampravadanti grāvānah* SMB · *vānaspatyā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* AV Aorists also concerned here.

catuṣpadīm anv emi (AV. *aitad*) *vratena* RV AV. On the anomalous form *aitat* see Whitney-Lanman on AV. 18 3 ·40

yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV KS. But AV. comm. *ahvayanta*

tām dhūrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta etc , see §223

prasnāpayanty ūrmiṇam (SV. *°yanta ūrmayah*) RV. SV. Note hiatus in SV.

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (MS *° yām adhamat*) *sam patatraih* RV. VS MS MahānU. ŚvetU And others, see §50

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣam (and, *śikṣathah*) RV (both).

uro vā padbhir (Kauś. *padbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB .*°ta*, but Jörgensen *°te*) TS. ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Kauś SMB.

śrīnānā apsu mṛñjata (SV. *vṛñjate*) RV SV.

yam nirmanthato aśvinā RV ApMB. HG MG . *yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BrhU.

uta gāva wādanti (TB *wādan*) RV. TB.

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB ApŚ *°māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ. *āsate*) PB. TB. ApŚ MŚ

surayā mūtrāj janayanti (VS † *°ta*) *retah* VS TB · *surāyā mūtrāj janayanta* (KS † *°ti*) *retah* MS KS.

oṣadhayah sam vadante (VS *sam avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.

gāvau te sāmanāv itah (AV *aitām*) RV. AV

asurās tvā nyakhanan AV *nīcaih khananty asurāh* AV.

andhena yat (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA *°si*) AV. TA.

sapta svasāro abhi sam navante (AV. *navanta*) RV. AV The AV form may be considered injunctive

adhīyata (ŚŚ *°te*) *devarātah* AB. ŚŚ.

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (KS. *°nām kuva*) *ūtaye* TS MS. KS

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.   Phonetic corruption in SV., see §23, end

āśūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye AV   *āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS MS. KS

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait °*hi;* VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hvāmahe*) RV. VS VSK. TS MS KS AB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ ApS Vait Kauś. See §2.

§230 *Present and Aorist*

ulūkhalā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata, etc , see §229.

ud vām pṛkṣāso etc., see §221

yad oṣadhayaḥ (RV VS *yatrauṣadhīḥ*) *samagmata* (TS MS *samgachante*)
   RV̇ VS TS MS KS

dṛśāno rukma urviyā (RV KS *urviyā,* MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV VS TS MS. KS. ŚB ApMB

gāyatreṇa chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi krame TS. *pṛthivyām* (KS. °*vīm*) *viṣṇur* (MS *viṣṇuḥ pṛthivyām*) *vyakraṅsta gāyatreṇa chandasā* VS MS. KS ŚB. ŚŚ And the same with *traiṣṭubhena*   *antarikṣam,* and *jāgatena*   *divam*

yad rātriyāt (and, *ahnāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA   *yad rātriyā* (MahānU TA. v 1 *rātryā,* also, *ahnā*) *pāpam alārṣam* (TA´ v. 1 *alāriṣam*) TA. MahānU   See §30.

prānasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB. *asmi,* HG. *abhūr asau*) AG ApMB HG MG

brahmacaryam āgām (MG *upemasi,* Kauś text *āgam,* unnoted in Conc , perhaps misprint) ŚB Kauś SMB GG PG ApMB ApG HG MG. A metrical pāda is produced in MG out of what is prose in the others; the context is different

yadā tvam abhivarṣasi PraśU . *yadā prāno abhyāvarṣīt* AV.

pra vā etīndur indrasya niṣkṛtim AV   *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam* RV SV PB

gṛhān aimi (LŚ HG *emi,* ApŚ *āgām*) *manasā modamānah* (AV *sumanā vandamānah,* ApŚ * *modamānah suvarcāh,* LŚ. *manasā daivena*) AV. VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV *āśata*) RV SV.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hataḥ (VSK *rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ *avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ : *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS. MS KS. ŚB ApŚ MŚ

ye sarpāḥ   *tebhya imam balim āhārṣam* AG . *ye pārthivāh sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi* HG.

rūpam vo rūpenābhyemi (KS. *rūpenābhyāgām*) *vayasā vayah* MS. KS.
MŚ : *rūpena vo rūpam abhy āgām* (TS. ApŚ *aimi*) VS. VSK TS.
ŚB. ApŚ

sam ākūtīr (RVKh. erroneously, *ākūtır*) *namāmasi* (MS. *anaṅsata*)
RVKh AV. MS.

pra vām ratho manojavā asarjı (and, *ıyartı*) RV. (both)

samāvavarttı (MS. MŚ. *samāvṛtat*) *pṛthıvī* VS. MS. KS. TB KŚ. ApŚ.
MŚ

devā madhor vy aśnate (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

yasmād bhītā (and, *bhīto*) *nıṣīdasɪ* MŚ.· *yasmād bhīṣā nıṣīdasɪ* (TB ApŚ.
nyaṣadah, ŚŚ. *nyasadah*) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Thru fear of
which thou sinkest down (hast [just now] sunk down).'

Participles:

tṛpat (SV *tṛmpat*) *somam apıbad vıṣṇunā sutam yathāvaśat* (SV.†° *śam.*)
RV AV. SV. TB.

§231. *Present and Perfect*

yasyām karmānɪ kurvate (ApŚ. *kṛnvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yānɪ karmāni cakrıre*
AV.

na hɪ te nāma jagrāha AV.: *na hy asyā* (ApMB. *asyaɪ*) *nāma gṛbhnāmi*
RV ApMB.

catustrınśat tantavo ye vɪ tatnıre VS : *trayastrınśat tantavo vɪ tatnıre*
(MS. *yam vɪtanvate;* KS. AŚ. *yān vitanvate*) TS MS. KS. AŚ ŚŚ

atra śravānsɪ dadhıre RV.· *tatra śravānsɪ kṛnvate* SV.

purūvasur hɪ maghavan babhūvitha (RV. *sanād asɪ*) RV. SV.

caratɪ ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ.: *vicaranty*
apatıvratā ŚG. MDh. (Pres pple. in the last) The parallel verb
in the preceding pāda is perfect in all; ApŚ. assimilates the tense
in this pāda.

yasmāj jātā na parā naɪwa kɪm canāsa (VS. *jātam na purā kɪm canaiva*)
VS TA : *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*)*,astɪ* JB ŚŚ · *yasmād*
anyo na paro astɪ jātah PB.: *yasmād anyan na param kɪṁ canāstɪ*
Vaɪt : *yasmān na jātah paro anyo astɪ* (NrpU. *'stɪ*) VS. TB. KŚ.
ApŚ MahānU. NrpU.: *yasmāt param nāparam astɪ kɪm cɪt* TA.
MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na parah kɪm canāsa* RV. TB :
tasmād vaɪ nānyat param astɪ tejah AV.: *yasmān nānyat param astɪ*
bhūtam AV.

ād ɪt pṛthıvī ghṛtaɪr vy udyate TS · *ād ɪd ghṛtena pṛthıvī vy udyate* (AV.
pṛthıvīm vy ūduh) RV AV. MS. KS N.

ye pṛthivyās samājagmur ıṣam ūrjam vasānāh KS · *samāgachantīṣam*
ūrjam vasānāh (ApŚ. *duhānāh*) MS ApŚ.

agnım naras trışadhasthe sam īdhıre (SV. TS *ındhate*) RV. SV. TS KS.

agnım ındhe (RV *īdhe*) *vıvasvabhıh* RV SV

anu vām ekah pavır ā vavarta (TB *°tı*) RV MS TB.

nahı tad dŗśyate dıvā (ApŚ *tad dadŗśe dıvā,* HG *tad dıvā dadŗśe dıvah*) AV ApŚ HG

manye (KS *mene*) *bhejāno amŗtasya tarhı* AV TS MS KS

yac cham ca yoś ca manur āyeje (TS *āyaje*) *pıtā* RV TS KS   The TS reading ıs anomalous ın form and meanıng, and ıs obvıously due to metrıcal consıderatıons (better cadence)

yadı vāham anŗtadeva āsa (AV *°devo asmı*) RV AV

prajāh pıparlı bahudhā (RV VS *pupoşa purudhā*) *vı rājatı* RV SV ArS VS MS KS ApŚ

eşu vānaspatyeşu ye 'dhı tasthuh AV . *eşu vŗkşeşu vānaspatyeşv āsate* ApMB

pīyatı (MS KS *nındatı*) *tvo anu tvo gŗnātı* (MS *vavanda*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

apām napātam parı tasthur (ArS⁻ *°tam upa yantı*) *āpah* RV ArS TS MS KS

sam tvā tatakşuh (LŚ *°kşnuh*) Vaıt LŚ KŚ   If *tatakşnuh* ıs entıtled to standıng, ıt ıs a nonce blend of perfect and present (*takşnuvantı*)

ındrasya tvā jathare sādayāmı (AŚ *dadhāmı*)   VSK KB GB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ. ApŚ Kauś *brahmaṇa ındrasya tvā jathare dadhuh* MŚ †   See §315

dāsyann adāsyann uta sam gŗnāmı (TA *uta vā karışyan,* and so AVPpp , Barret, *JAOS* 30 213) AV TA   *adāsyann agna uta samgŗnāmı* AV   *adıtsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA   *dhıpsyam vā samcakara janebhyah* MS   *yad vādāsyan samjagārā janebhyah* TB

§232 *Present and other Partıcıples*

Sınce Renou has shown (121–38) that partıcıples ın the Veda often appear to be ındependent of the fınıte stems wıth whıch they are formally connected, we lıst the partıcıpıal varıants ın a separate lıst   The fırst sıx varıants all occur ın the same context; soma ıs referred to

yamah sūyamānah VS   *yamo 'bhışutah* TS KS

rudra āhutah TS   *rudro hūyamānah* VS KS

pıtaro nārāśansāh sannah (VSK *sādyamānah*) VS VSK · *pıtṝnām nārāśansah* TS

vışnuh śıpıvışta ūrāv (VSK † *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS † VSK · *śıpıvışta āsādıtah* (KS † *°vışta ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS

asurah krīyamānah (KS *krītah,* VS *panyamānah*) VS TS KS

viśve devā anśuṣu nyuptaḥ (VSK. *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS VSK.
uttiṣṭhans (ŚŚ *utthitas*) *tretā bhavati* AB ŚŚ.
jajñānaḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV SV   See §238, end.
ahrātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS KS.
tepāno (SV *tapāno*) *deva rakṣasah* RV. SV.
samākurvānah (TB. *samācakrānah*) *praruho ruhaś ca* AV TB
dhṛṣānam (AV. °*no*, read °*nam* acc to Whitney, AA. *dādhṛṣānam*) *dhṛṣitam* (AV. °*tah*, Whitney em °*tam*) *śavah* AV AA. ŚŚ †
harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB °*atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *dhṛṣalā* is an adverbial instr of the pres. act pple.
[*viśvasyām viśi pravaviśvānsam* (KS. °*vviśānam*, quoted in Conc. as *praviśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS. KS. See §§69, 273]

§233. *Present and Pluperfect*

rudrān devān yajñenāpiprem ApŚ : *rudrān prīnāmi* Vait.

c. *Future and other Tenses*

§234. The future is rare in the Mantras, its place being taken by the moods, especially the subjunctive. Its own modal value comes to the fore notably in its interchanges with the moods (§177), and in the rare instances where it interchanges with preterite indicative forms, it is rather as a mood than as a tense (§134). For this reason the few scattering finite futures varying with preterite tenses are treated above Here are gathered, first, a couple of variants between present and future indicatives, and between present and future participles; and then a group of variations between future participles on the one hand and aorist and perfect participles on the other. Some of the future-aorist cases, concerning sigmatic forms on either side, have obvious phonetic bearings which have been dealt with in §§27f The present-future cases need no comment; since the present designates not a point of time but a quality of action, it is always ready for use as a future. See also §104, e

Below, in §248a, we shall find a few cases of verbal nouns in *tar* (nominative, *tā*) varying with finite verb-forms; attention may be called to them here, because they are forerunners of the later periphrastic future (Whitney §946).

(a) *Present and Future*

tebhya imam balim hariṣyāmi tebhya imam balim ahārṣam ApMB.:
tebhyo namo 'stu balim ebhyo harāmi PG.: *tebhyo balim puṣṭikāmo*

harāmi (AG *dadāmi*) TAA MahānŪ. AG. Cf *balım ebhyo harānīmam* PG

agne vratapate vratam ālapsye (KS *ālabhe*) MS KS MŚ Cf. *agne vratapate vratam carısyāmı* VS *etc*, see Conc

(b) *Partıcıples, Present and Future*

agnım khananta (TS *khanısyanta*) *upasthe asyāh* VS. TS MS KS ŚB
bhūtam ası bhavad ası Kauś · *bhūtam ası bhavısyad ası* ŚŚ 8. 21. 3

(c) *Partıcıples, Aorıst and Future*

ratho na vājam sanısyann (SV *sanısann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV   See §28, and
    Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 418

(*net tvā*) *dadhṛg vıdhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV *vıdhakṣan parıñkhayātaı*) RV. AV.· *net tvā* . *dadhad vıdhakṣyan paryañkhayātaı* TA
    See §27   The AV. readıng was probably *vıdhakṣyan*

samhānāya svāhā VS. MS · *samhāsyate svāhā* TS KSA

(d) *Partıcıples, Perfect and Future*

(*suṣvānāsa ındra stuması tvā*) *sasavāṅsaś ca* (SV. *sanısyantaś cıt*)
    tuvınṛmna vājam RV. SV   'We praıse thee, O Indra, strong ın
    manhood, after we have pressed (the soma) and after we have
    gaıned (or, about to gaın) booty.'

vājam tvāgne jıgīvānsam sasanvānsam (and, *jeṣyantam sanısyantam*)
    sammārjmi Vait. (both)

CHAPTER V. THE SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS

§235 Of the conjugations included by Whitney under this heading, one, the Passive, has been treated above in the chapter on Voice, where it naturally belongs. Another, the Desiderative, is patently a mood in function, and appears in the Variants only in a very few cases where it interchanges with other moods, it has been treated in that connexion (§178). This leaves the Intensive, Causative, and Denominative. The interchanges concerning them are not numerous, nor, with one or two exceptions, do they mark any very important conditions or tendencies in the language of the mantras.

1. INTENSIVE

§236 As the intensive is a fairly frequent form in the Veda, the natural affinity between such ideas as 'lead forth': 'drag out', 'call': 'clamor', 'kill'. 'slaughter', etc , manifests itself in corresponding interchanges between intensive and primary verb   Occasionally the interchange is promoted by another, outside locution; thus in the example *tam sarasvantam avase huvema* (*havāmahe, johavīmi*), we detect contamination with RV. 1. 34 12 *śṛnvantā vām avase johavīmi*, or RV. 3. 62. 2 *śaśvattamam avase johavīti.*—In two examples, the last of our list, the form of the intensive itself is varied.—Of course all intensive forms are reduplicated, most of the alternative forms in the list are not reduplicated, but in the first four they likewise show reduplication

pavamānasya jaṅghnatah (SV. PB. *jighnatah*) RV SV. PB.

indro vṛtrāni jighnate (ŚŚ. *jaṅghanat*) RV. AV. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ passage is in a different context

aindrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nидīdhyat (TS *ni dedhyat*; VSK. *niдhītah*) VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB. See §248

sarasvatyā (AV °*tyām*) *adhi manāv* (KS *mānā*, v. 1 *manā*; AV. erroneously *manāv*, SMB. *vanāva*, corrected in Jörgensen to *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS *acakṛ°*, v 1. *acarkṛ°*; SMB *carkṛdhi*, but Jörgensen *acakṛṣuh*) AV KS TB. ApŚ MŚ SMB. PG. See §136. Jörgensen assumes that *acakṛṣuh* is a phonetic variant of *acark°*, by dissimilation, referring to Wackernagel I §234 b.

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*, KS. *johavīmi*) RVKh. AV. TS etc , see §78

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ. MŚ HG · *mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yuṅgdhvam* AŚ : *mā vo 'to 'nyat p' aro yoyuvata* Kauś

dakṣiṇam (and, *savyam*) *pādam avanenije* AB SMB. GG : *imau pādāv avaniktau* Kauś

upaveṣoparıddhi naḥ TB. ApŚ cf. *veṣo 'sy upaveṣo 'viṣato grīvā upa vevıddhı* VŚK

yam tvām ayam (TS KS *tvāyam*) *svadhitis tejamānah* (TS KS *tetıjānah,* MS. *tıgmatejāh*) RV TS MS KS

yad vāto apo (MS MŚ *'po*) *aganīgan* (TS KSA ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS. MS KSA ApŚ MŚ

ava devānām yaja hedo agne AV.: *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ıkṣıa*) KS ApŚ. Both *iyakṣva* and *ıkṣva* are problematic, see §193.

pra bādhamānā (RV. and p.p of MS *prabābadhānā*) *rathyeva yāti* RV MS.

Variant forms of Intensive

ni galgalīti dhāralā VS ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KSA † ed. *jalgalīlı* by em , ms *jalgalūlī*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA Cf Whitney, *Grammar* 1002d; *galgalīlı* is irregularly reduplicated

hanīkhunad ıva sāpayan TB.: *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ. Unintelligible stuff.

2 CAUSATIVE

§237. The interchanges of the causative are grouped under four heads.

a Perhaps the most frequent and typical are those in which a neuter verb with subject expressed or implied is transposed to causative verb with another subject. The nominative subject of the first form then becomes accusative object in the second form Thus in one and the same text (AV.), *vedir bhūmir akalpata,* 'the earth shaped itself into a vedi': *veduṁ bhūmiṁ kalpayitvā,* 'he having shaped the earth into a vedi.' Or, in different texts, *apām sadhiṣi sīda* TS : *apām tvā sadhiṣi* (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS. KS ŚB.

b. In a few cases, not all of them clear in their bearings, the causative still has causative meaning, being thus distinguished from the primary verb; but the subject and object remain the same, so that there is a more or less definite variation in the sense of the passage.

c. In a considerable number of cases, perhaps nearly as many as in the first group, causative and primary appear indifferently with the same meaning, these are, in other words, early examples of the fading out of the distinctive causative meaning of verb-forms in *aya,* which in

the later language becomes so noticeable, and which led in the Pāli-Pra-
krit languages to the vast extension of the *-paya-* type, as a more clear
and unmistakable causative formation

   d Different forms of the causative

   a *Causatives and primary verbs with transfusion of construction,
resulting in equivalence of meaning in both clauses*

§238 There may be discovered in some of these cases a flavor of
greater assurance or certainty in the causative form of expression, which
would possibly bring these variants into the general sphere of modal
variations   Nevertheless it seems to us that in general they are hardly
more than mechanical equivalents   Besides the two cases mentioned
above, we find

viśvāsu tvā dikṣu sādayāmi KS. ApŚ . *viśvāsu dikṣu sīda* MS ApŚ. MŚ

arnave tvā sadane sādayāmi VS MS KS ŚB   *arnave sadane sīda* TS
   ApŚ

sarire (MS *salile*) *tvā sadane sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB · *salile sadane
   sīda* TS

samudre tvā sadane sādayāmi VS MS KS ŚB.: *samudre sadane sīda* TS

apām tvā kṣaye sādayāmi VS MS KS ŚB. *apām kṣaye sīda* TS.

apām tvā gahman sādayāmi samudrasyodmann avataś chāyāyām MS
   MŚ . *apām tvodman sādayāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB   *apām gam-
bhan sīda* VS ŚB

pṛthivyā mūrdhan sīda yajñiye loke KS   *pṛthivyās tvā mūrdhan sādayāmi
yajñiye loke* ApŚ.

un nambhaya pṛthivīm TS MS KS ApŚ 'split open the earth': *pra
nabhasva pṛthivi* AV. 'burst open, O earth!'   AVPpp agrees with
the others

evam aham āyuṣā medhayā varcasā   samedhiṣīya SMB   *evam mām
āyuṣā   samedhaya* ApMB HG   Cf *brahmavarcasenānnādyena
samedhaya* AG HG   'May I prosper (make me to prosper) with
life' etc

brahmavarcasam māgamyāt TS 'let holy splendor come to me' *brah-
mavarcasam mā gamayet* Vait 'let him make holy splendor come to
me '

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB ŚŚ . *mā cakrā āvṛtsata* MS †. *apa cakrāni var-
taya* TB ApŚ

dṛṁhantām dauvīr viṣah kalpantām manuṣyāh KS †: *kalpayatam dauvīr
viṣah kalpayatam mānuṣīh* TB ApŚ.

ṛṣayah (sc. *tṛpyantu*) AG. ŚG : (*om*) *ṛṣīns tarpayāmi* BDh   Also with
nakṣatrāni, etc.

agnis tṛpyatu ŚG . (*om*) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh

brahmā (sc *tṛpyatu*) AG. ŚG : (*om*) *brahmānam tarpayāmi* BDh   Also
with *prajāpatih, viṣnuh, vāyuh,* etc

samjīvā (ApŚ AŚ * °*vikā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ *imam amum*) *samjīva-
yata* MS AŚ. (bis) ApŚ   *samjīvā stha samjīvyāsam* AV.

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS
MS KS ŚB *rohayainam,* TA *rohemam*) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB
TA   The TA version may be rendered at a pinch, 'ascend thou
this highest heaven'   But the meter, and text-chronology, show
that it is really a corruption, phonetic in character (*aya, aye e*)

jajñānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaih* RV SV   'Born, thou
didst swell the sun (begetting the sun, thou didst swell him) with
light '

We may add one similar case in which the reduplicated (causative)
aorist figures, cf. §201:

ganān me mā vi tītṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ 'do not make my troops go
thirsty': *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB 'may my troops not go
thirsty '

§239 b *Causative and primary verbs with corresponding change of
meaning*

te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛnvantu LŚ 'they (waters) shall flow, shall rain,
shall perform': *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV. 'they rain, they cause
to rain'.

mandūkyā su samgamah (TA *gamaya*) RV † TA . *mandūky apsu śam
bhuvah* AV 'Unite (thyself, or, unite it, sc the ominous funeral
-fire) with the female frog'   Addressed to the water-plant (or
plants) which are spoken of in the preceding pādas   The AV has
a mere corruption   TA comm reads *mandūkyāsu* (=*mandūka-
plavanayogyāsv apsu!*) *samgamaya* (= *imam pretadeham prāpaya,*
which is unintelligent)

(*vi na indra mṛdho jahi*) *kanīkhunad iva sāpayan* (AŚ *canīkhudad yath-
āsapam*) TB AŚ   Dubious, TB comm connects *kanīkhunad* with
khan, cf Whitney, *Roots,* s v. *khud*

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ   See §30
Participles

viṣnuh śipiviṣta ūrāv (VSK *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS VSK · *śipiviṣta āsāditah*
(KS °*viṣta ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS   Both forms may be ren-
dered by the English 'seated', yet the sense is not quite the same,
since *sannah* is neuter (intransitive), 'having taken his seat', while
the other forms mean 'having been (or being) seated, given a seat '

rucıto gharmaḥ MS. KB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ.: *rocito gharmo ruciya* TA.

deva gharma rucitas tvaṁ deveṣv ā MS.: *rocıtas tvaṁ deva gharma deveṣv asɪ* TA

c. *Causatıve and primary verbs, both in the same sense*

§240 The line between this and the last group is not always easy to˙ draw, but ın most of the following ınstances, at any rate, there seems to be no real difference in meanıng between the causative verb-form and the non-causatıve, while in the precedıng we seem to find at least a shade of dıfferencе The meanıng ıs, of course, always transıtive, unless mıddle, and generally the prımary verb is capable of an ıntransıtive meaning too, whıch may often be suspected of being the older. Hence it ıs sometımes doubtful whether we should speak of 'causatıve ın prım- ary sense' or of 'prımary ın causatıve sense'. In the RV itself we find such paırs as˙

mādayasva (and, *mandasvā su*) *svarnare*, 'enjoy thyself at Svarna- ra('s sacrıfice)', or,

mıtro janān yātayatı bruvānah, 3 59. 1, and *janam ca mıtro yatatı bruvānah*, 7 36 2˙ 'callıng hımself Mıtra, he orders (sets ın order) the folk' (somewhat dıfferently Geldner, *Ved St* 3. 15ff). To find a dıffer- ence in these cases would seem to us lıke hearıng the grass grow. And, if possıble even more surely, there cannot be the slıghtest difference ın the following

ud vandanam aırayatam svar dr̥śe 1. 112 5, *ud vandanam aıratam dansanābhıh* 1. 118 6, 'ye (Aśvıns) brought forth Vandana' etc

In the Vālakhılya passages *yam te svadhāvan svadayantı dhenavah*, and, *yam te svadāvan svadantı gūrtayah*, the form *svadayantı* may not be causatıve, see §194.

§241 In the following lıst the approxımatıon of the causatıve stem *janaya* to its prımary correspondent ıs worthy of note. In the RV. already it is practıcally ımpossıble to dıfferentıate these two forms in the actıve, as in 3 31 15, *ındro   ajanad...sūryam:* 9. 110 3, *ajīˈjano hı pavamāna sūryam·*

tāsām svasr̥r ajanayat (MS *svar ajanan*, KS † *svasr̥r* [ms *svasūr*] *ajanan*)
     pañca-pañca TS MS. KS.   The TS ıs poor metrically.

madhu janıṣye (AV. *janıṣīya*) AV TS TA ŚŚ.   'I shall (may I) gener- ate honey'. *madhu karıṣyāmı madhu janayıṣyāmı madhu bhavıṣyatı* JB

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu; TS.* ApŚ *śundhantu*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS. ŚB AŚ. ApŚ.

arejetām (TB *arcjayatām) rodasī pūjasā gɪrā* RV   TB   The meter shows
that TB has a mere blunder, phonetic in character (hyper-Sanskritic
aya for *e*, as a reaction against dialectic *e* for *aya*, our Phonetic Vari-
ants will show a considerable number of analogous cases)   It is
more or less the reverse of what has happened in the variant *utta-
mam nākam* etc , §238

ūrdhvām enām (VS ŚB LŚ - also, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS
ŚB. also, *uc chrāpaya*, MS *uñ chrāpaya*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB
TB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait LŚ ApŚ   Both forms (in adjoining verses in
VS etc) mean simply 'lift her (him) up '

uttame nāka ɪha mādayantām (MŚ *°yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ ·
nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam ɪṣā madema AV.

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*) AV AA ŚŚ   See
§140

ud dharṣantām maghavan vājɪnānɪ AV . *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV
satvanām) āyudhānɪ RV. AV. SV. VS TS   See §30   This variant
properly belongs here since the difference in meaning between the
verbs is obviously due to the difference of voice, not to that be-
tween causative and primary

prāṇam me tarpayata (ŚŚ *tṛmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ

satyena tvābhighārayāmi (AŚ *°bhɪjɪgharmī*) TS MS AŚ MŚ.   'I sprin-
kle thee with truth ' Cf *satyābhɪghṛtam* (KS *°tam asi*) *satyena
tvābhɪghārayāmɪ* MS KS

athaɪte dhɪṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ɪhaɪva HG . *atho
yatheme dhɪṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ɪhaɪva* MG .
ɪme ye dhɪṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam ɪha kalpatām (read *°ntām*)
AG : *punar agnayo dhɪṣnyā* (ŚŚ *°yāso) yathāsthānam kalpantām*
(AV *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ɪhaɪva*, ŚŚ *yathāsthānam dhārayan-
tām ɪhaɪva*) AV. ŚB BrhU. ŚŚ   Cf *yathāsthānam kalpayadhvam*
ApŚ

sūcībhɪh śamyantu (TS KSA *śɪmyantu;* MS *śamayantu) ɪvā* VS TS
MS KSA

The meanings of the verbs are not quite clear, but both *śamyantu* and
śamayantu seem to be euphemistic expressions for 'kill'. For *śɪmyantu*
see Keith on TS. 5 2 11 1.

vaɪśvānarah pavɪtā mā punātu AV   'Vaɪśvānara the purifier shall purify
me': *vāɪśvānarah pavayān nah pavɪtraɪh* TA   'Vaɪśvānara shall
purify us with purifiers '

[*nama uccaɪrghoṣāyākrandayate* VS TS   *nama ākrandayata uccaɪr
ghoṣāya* MS KS †   The Conc quotes *ākrandata* for KS]

d Different forms of the Causative

§242. In a few cases the grade of the root varies between the guṇa and vṛddhi stages (Whitney, *Grammar* 1042e, g); and in one the stems *sūḍaya* and *svadaya* interchange, but the 'causative' value is here somewhat dubious

yavayārātīh VS TS ŚB   *yavayārātīm* (KS and MS p p *yāv°*) MS   KS Kauś

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS   *yavayāsmad dveṣah* TS. VS ŚB Kauś   *yavaya* (v l *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS   *yavayāsmad eghā dveṣānsi* TS

vasoṣpate ni ramaya (N and 2 mss of AV. *rām°*) AV N   *vasupate vi ramaya* MS.

agnir havyam (RV. KS *havih*) *samitā sūdayāh* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV   VS TS. MS KS   The AV reading is metrically poor

[*tatra havyāni gāmaya* (KS Conc *gamaya*, but von Schroeder reads *gām°* with one of three mss) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ]

3. DENOMINATIVE

§243 The variants under this head are few. Most of them concern different vocalism before the denominative sign *ya*: *a*-stems appearing with *a* or *ā* (Whitney §1059 a, b), and variations between *i* and *ī*, zero and *ī*, in this position These changes were possibly rhythmic in origin, compare §§259ff. below, and see our volume on Phonetics, which will deal more systematically with such cases

devān devayate (TB ApŚ MŚ *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ *yajamānāya svāhā*) RV   SV. KS TB. ApŚ MŚ.

agne prehi prathamo devayatām (AV. *devatānām;* MS KS. *devāyatām*)   AV. VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV. *amitrā°*) RV AV TS KS

janiyanti nāv agravah AV.. *janīyanto nv agravah* RV SV. AŚ ŚŚ

putrīyantah (AV *putriyanti*) *sudānavah* RV. AV SV. In the same   stanza as the prec , the *ī* (*i*), in place of stem-final *a* (*putra*), is probably suggested by the *ī* (*i*) of *janīya-* (stem *jani, janī*), cf however   Whitney §1059d

devā devebhyo (MS *deveṣv*) *adhvaryanto* (KS *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuh* VS   TS. MS KS ŚB

apo vṛnānah pavate kavīyan (TS *kavyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

The remaining variants are unclassifiable In the next following, both *a*- and *aya*-stems are best regarded as denominatives (·*dīkṣā*)—   *agnir dīkṣitah pṛthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu* (JB. *dīkṣeta*)   JB.   ApŚ. And others, see §§79, 160

In a single case a sigmatic aorist from a denominative interchanges with a problematic reduplicated aorist made from a primary root: *amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam* (Kauś. °*gam yathālokam*) *āvṛṣāyiṣata* (AŚ °*yiṣata;* ŚŚ *avīvṛṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Kauś SMB. GG. KhG.   See §§201, 285.

The stem *hṛnīya*, in *vājebhir mā hṛnīyathāh* SV.: *mā hṛnīthā abhy asmān* RV., is considered a denominative by some authorities; but see §195.

CHAPTER VI. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

(In a broad sense, including participles, gerunds, etc)

§244 We have previously dealt, as part of the chapter on modal variations, with a number of instances in which a perfect passive participle with or without copula interchanges with a modal form (§§143f). Those cases are to be regarded as part of this chapter also. Additional interchange between finite verbs and verbal nouns is found on a considerable scale, and is here treated under three aspects. First, a finite form interchanges with a verbal noun without copula, most commonly a past participle, which performs the same function as a finite verb. Second, the finite form exchanges with a periphrastic combination of verbal noun plus copula or similar verbal form. Thirdly, in a combination of two coordinate finite verb forms, one exchanges with an attributive verbal noun which leans on the other verb in syntactic dependence.

1 Interchange between predicative finite verbs and independent predicative verbal nouns without copula

§245. Such cases are quite numerous The older grammar was in the habit of defining this type of verbal noun as the elliptic residue of a combination of verbal noun and copula, the copula being 'understood' or 'supplied'. These correspondences support the now generally accepted theory that the verbal nouns in question perform rather the function of predicate verbs, directly and of themselves. They are far more frequent than the cases in which the copula is expressed (see 2, below), the copula is quite superfluous and originally was, no doubt, expressed only for emphasis or for some special reason. A good example of the perfect equivalence of such finite verbs and verbal nouns, without copula, is seen in the opening pādas of RV. 10. 17. 12 and 13 respectively: *yas te drapsa skandati yas te anśuh*, and *yas te drapsa skanno yas te anśuh*.

§246. In many of these cases the finite verb is active, the participle passive. These belong not only in this group, but also in the larger class of Active and Passive; see §§80ff. We begin with them: *yuktās tisro vimrjah sūryasya* PB . *yunajmi tisro viprcah sūryasya te* (MŚ. *tisro vivrtah sūryah sara* [*iti*]) TS. ApŚ MŚ.

157

yukto vāto 'ntarıkṣena te saha PB . *yunaȷmı vāyum antarıkṣena te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ

manyunā kṛtam BDh   *manyur akārṣīt* TAA MahānU. ApDh

śırasā dhārayıṣyāmı (MahānU. *dhārıtā devı*) TA. MahānU

carıtrāns te śundhāmı VS ŚB . *śuddhāś carıtrāḥ* TS ApŚ

stomasya dhāman nıhıtam (KS *nyadhām*) *purīṣyam* MS KS

āpāma manasā VS ŚB KŚ (VS. comm *prāptavantaḥ*)· *āptam manaḥ* TS MS KS TB ApŚ. MŚ

upasṛȷāmı ApŚ MŚ   *upasṛṣṭaḥ* ŚB

yasmın devā adhı vıśve nıṣeduḥ (Mbh *vıṣaktāḥ*) RV AV TB TA Mahān U Śvet U Nṛp U. N Mbh (ed Sukthankar, 1 3 65c).

hato me pāpmā AG MG . *pāpmā me hataḥ* AG   *pāpmānam te 'pahanmaḥ* KŚ : *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś *'pa ȷahı*) MG. Kauś   And others, see Conc. under *pāpmānam me*

āhatam (VS. ŚB *āhantı*) *gabhe pasaḥ* VS TS KSA ŚB TB. *āhatam paso nıcalcalātı* MS

hatas te atrınā kṛmıḥ (GG *kṛ°*) SMB. GG KhG · *atrınā tvā kṛme hanmı* TA. ApŚ · *atrıvad vaḥ kṛmayo hanmı* AV 'Slaın ıs thy worm by Atrı', or, 'I slay thee (you), O worm(s), by (lıke) Atrı '

athaıṣām bhınnakaḥ kumbhaḥ SMB 'then theır receptacle has been mıserably smashed' (ımprecatory, or perhaps contemptuous, dımınutıve) *bhınadmı te kuṣumbham* AV (for whıch Ppp has, *atho bhınadmı tam kumbham*)

ghanena hanmı vṛścıkam RVKh AV. *hatam vṛścıka te vıṣam* Mahābh *apıśīrnā u pṛṣṭayaḥ* and, *pṛṣṭīr apı śṛṇīması* AV (both)

mıthunam karnayoḥ kṛdhı (SMB *kṛtam*) AV SMB 'Mark the paır (of calves; or, the paır ıs marked) on the ears '

śraddhāyām prāne nıvıśyāmṛtam hutam (TAA *nıvıṣṭo 'mṛtam ȷuhomı*) TA TAA MahānU BDh VHDh   *amṛtam ca prāne ȷuhomı* Prānāg U.   Also wıth *apāne, udāne, vyāne, samāne*, and the same wıthout the word *śraddhāyām*, see Conc

[*yatra-yatra vıbhṛto* (KS *bıbhrato*) *ȷātavedāḥ* AV KS · *yatra-yatra ȷātavedaḥ sambabhūtha* (TB Bıbl Ind ed °*va*, Poona ed correctly °*tha*) TB ApŚ   But both AV. (most mss *bıbhṛto* or *bıbhrato*) and KS (v 1 *bıbhṛto*) are very obscure, ıt ıs questıonable whether the varıant belongs here]

§247. In a smaller group the fınıte verb ıs mıddle (reflexıve) wıth actıve value   Agaın the ınterchange ıs ın effect the same as between actıve and passıve, to be regarded ın connexıon wıth those treated ın §80ff

teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh   *yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS ApMB *sadah*)
  kṛtam VS TS ŚB NīlarU ApMB   *ye apsu ṣadānsɩ* (KS *'psu*
  sadānsɩ) cakṛɩre MS KS   'Their (whose) seat was made ɩn the
  waters' 'who made theɩr (own) seats ɩn the waters '
tvam yajñeṣv īdyah RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB : *tvām yajñeṣv īdate*
  RV
antar dadhe parvataɩh HG ApMB   'I ɩnterpose wɩth the mountaɩns'
  antarhɩtā gɩrayah ŚG. 'the mountaɩns have been ɩnterposed.'
antar dadha ṛtubhɩh HG ApMB . *antarhɩtā ma ṛtavah* ŚG. As prec
rocate VADh   *rocɩtam* MDh
dakṣɩnam (and, *savyam) pādam avanenɩje* AB SMB GG KhG. 'I scrub
  the rɩght (left) foot' *ɩmau pādāv avanɩktau* Kauś (ɩn dɩfferent
  connectɩon), 'these two feet have been washed.'

§248 In the majorɩty of cases, however, the verbal remaɩns upon the
same plane wɩth the fɩnɩte verb, whether actɩve or mɩddle, that ɩs, both
predɩcates, whatever theɩr forms, express the predɩcatɩve ɩdea in the
same voɩce   The dɩfference between thɩs and the class just lɩsted wɩll
be made clear by contrastɩng the varɩant *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam*, etc ,
above, ɩn whɩch the mɩddle wɩth actɩve meanɩng exchanges wɩth a passɩve
partɩcɩple, wɩth the followɩng

nānā hɩ vām devahɩtam sadas (TB ApŚ. *sadah) kṛtam* (TB * ApŚ.* *sado*
  mɩtam) VS MS KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ   *nānā hɩ devaɩś cakṛpe*
  sado vām KS.   Here *cakṛpe* (see Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkɩns Cɩrcu-*
  lars, December 1906, p 10) ɩs passɩve ɩn force, lɩke *kṛtam* 'varɩ-
  ously by the gods a seat has been made for you '
pūrvo ha (TA MahānU *hɩ) jātah* (JUB *jajñe) sa u garbhe antah* VS.
  TA ŚvetU   MahānU ŚɩrasU JUB   *prathamo jātah* etc. AV :
  'he was the fɩrst born (of old), and he is yet wɩthɩn the womb '
yo agnɩr agner adhyajāyata (TS MS KS. *agnes tapaso 'dhɩ jātah)* VS.
  TS MS KS ŚB
yas ta ātmā paśuṣu pravɩṣṭah TB ApŚ MŚ.   *yas te prānah paśuṣu pra-*
  vɩṣṭah KŚ VSK . *yā te tanūh pɩtṛṣv āvɩveśa* AV. Here the par-
  tɩcɩple, tho passɩve ɩn form, ɩs actɩve ɩn meanɩng, sɩnce the verb is
  ɩntransɩtɩve
ya āvɩṣṭo vayassu yo mṛgeṣu AV   *vayānsɩ ya āvɩveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS.
  ApŚ
dīkṣɩto 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanah MS MŚ   *dɩkṣɩto 'yam brāhmanah* ŚB.:
  adīkṣɩṣṭāyam brāhmanah TS ApŚ
aɩndra udāno aṅge-aṅge nɩdhɩtah (VSK *nɩdɩdhe)* VS VSK ŚB : *aɩndro*
  'pāno (and, *vyāno) aṅge-aṅge vɩbobhuvat* (MS † *nɩ bo°*, KS *nɩdɩdhyat)*

TS MS. KS.   This and the following item are full of morphological
and etymological problems.   Perhaps render. 'Udāna (etc) from
Indra has been sucked (?) into every limb.'.   On the active *nidīdhyat*
cf. the next.

aindrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nidīdhyat (TS. *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nidhītaḥ*) VS
VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB.   Cf. prec.   The active is anomalous;
Mahīdhara, *nihitah*; Keith, 'may...be set'.   It seems that it cannot be transitive.

yatrā (MS *yatra*) *naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ paretāḥ* (RV. MS.* *pareyuḥ*) RV.
AV. MS. (both): *yenā te pūrve pitarah paretāḥ* AV.

yasmād bhīṣā samjñaptāḥ (ApŚ. *samajñāsthāh*) ŚŚ ApŚ. 'from fear of
which thou (the animal victim) hast been slain (from that make us
exempt).'

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś. *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA. Kauś · *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ
MŚ. GG. v. 1 °*rātsam*, the correct reading) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ GG.   See
§§28, 85.   As to the latter form, this item belongs under the first
group above   -

oṁ svadhocyatām AG.: *astu svadheti vaktavyam* Vait : *prakṛtebhyah
svadhocyatām* YDh.

ṛtubhih prabhuh (KS. *prābhavat*) TS. KS.

samvatsarena paribhūh (KS *paryabhavat*) TS KS.

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

bāhū rājanyah kṛtah (AV. °*nyo 'bhavat*) RV. AV. VS TA VāDh.

tapasā ye svar yayuḥ (TA. *suvar gatāh*) RV. AV. TA

amṛtatvāya ghoṣayah (SV. °*yan*) RV. SV.   The subject is soma; there is
no finite verb in the passage with the SV. reading (nom. sg act.
pple).   Cf. next.

bradhnah samīcīr uṣasah eam airayat (AV. °*yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ MŚ.
With the AV. reading there is no finite verb in the passage, and Whitney reads *airayat* with the rest; but cf. prec

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhtā divi devāvṛdham hotrām airayat
(KŚ °*yant*; TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ omits) ŚB.
TA. ŚŚ KŚ.

vavakṣa (3 sg. perf. mid) *ṛṣro astṛtah* RV AV.: *vavakṣur* (adj , desiderative) *ugro astṛtah* TB. ApŚ

vaśāyā dugdham apiban, and (next vs) *va° dugdham pītvā*, AV.

patnī yīyapsyate (ŚŚ. *yīyapsyamānā*) *jaritah* AŚ ŚŚ

varebhir varān abhi ṣu pru sīdatah (ApMB. °*ta*) RV. ApMB.   In RV. a
gen sg. pple , agreeing with Indra; *varebhir* applies to the Maruts,
is *sīdata* of ApMB addressed to them?

[*sam agnıs tapasāgata* VS. MS. ŚB.: *svāhā sam agnıs tapasā gata* TA. 4
7. 2 and 5. 6 6. So Poona ed. in both places. Conc. with Bibl
Ind ed. quotes *gatah* for 4. 7. 2, this is read by one ms and comm
ın Poona ed]

Anticipations of the Periphrastic Future in -tā

§248a We group separately a few varıants in which the verbal noun
which varıes with a finite verb ıs the nominative of a *nomen agentis* in
-tar. These forms are, of course, ınterestıng as precursors of the later
perıphrastıc future; cf. Whitney §946   They are found varyıng with
the present ındicative, imperatıve (ıncludıng that ın *tāt*), optatıve, and
injunctıve (? subjunctive); the copula is not used with them.

yo dāśuṣah sukṛto havam eıı (TS. MS. KS   *havam upa gantā*) AV. TS.
    MS KS.

somah punānah kalaśeṣu sīdati (and, *sattā*) RV. (both)

yantā no avṛkaṁ chardıh; pra no yachatād (*prāsmaı yachatam*) *avṛkam
    pṛthu chardıh* RV. (all)

gamat sa (*gamema, sa gantā*) *gomatı vraje* RV. (all). On *gamat*, com-
    monly regarded as subj but taken by us as *a-*aor. injunctıve because
    of *gamema*, see §174

2 Interchange between finite form and perıphrasıs of verbal noun and copulaıc verb

§249. We have drawn attention above to the rarity of this construc-
tion compared with the use of the verbal noun wıthout copula as predi-
cate. In the first two of the following brief list we have variatıon be-
tween active and passıve constructions, as ın §246 above:

ahnā yad enah kṛtam astı́ kım cıt (ŚŚ *enaś ṣakṛmeha kım cıt*, ApŚ MŚ.
    ApMB *astı pāpam*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ. ApMB.

ayam vaı tvām ajanayad ayam tvad adhıjāyatāṁ asaụ svāhā ŚŚ : *asmāt
    tvam adhı jāto 'sı tvad ayam jāyatām punah* VS. ŚB TA KŚ Kar-
    map   *asmād vaı tvam ajāyathā ayaṁ tvad adhı jāyatām asau* (AG.
    asau svargāya lokāya) *svāhā* AG. Kauś   *asmād vaı tvam ajāyathā eṣa
    tvaj jāyatām* JB

kım ıt te vıṣno parıcakṣyam bhūt (SV. *parıcakṣı nāma*) RV. SV TS MS. N.

devo devebhyah pavasva VS. ŚB.: *devo devānām pavıtram asi* TS MS. KS.

vıśvā rūpānı parı tā babhūva (AV *parıbhūr jajāna*) AV. VS ŚB.

tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca ApMB.. *vardhıṣīmahı
    ca vayam ā ca pyāsıṣīmahi* (MS MŚ *pyāyıṣīmahı*) VS MS. ŚB
    TA. ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG HG.

vājino vājajito 'dhvana skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāh kāṣṭhām gachata
VS ŚB.: *adhvānam skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāh kiṣṭhām gachata*
MS.: *vi yojanā mimīdhvam adhvana skabhnīta kāṣṭhām gachata* TS
Here two participles, dependent on a following finite verb, vary
with two finite verbs correlative with the latter.

ghnanto (MS ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāny aprati* AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.   The
interchanging forms are preceded by finite verbs.

[*indra iva vṛtrahā tiṣṭha* (MS *dasyuhā bhava*),] *apah kṣetrāni samjayan*
(MS °*ya*) MS. TB ApŚ.

āyur dadhad yajñapatāv (MS. KS °*tā*) *avihrutam* RV. SV. ArŚ. VS.
MS. KS LŚ ApŚ.: *āyur yajñapatāv adhāt* (JB. *ayām*) AB JB ŚB
TB AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ.   Each is the 2d pāda of its stanza, but
the two stanzas are otherwise wholly different.   However, each has
a parallel finite verb in pāda a, on which the pple *dadhat* depends

pari dyāvāpṛthwī sadya āyam (VS. *itvā*) AV VS   Followed by (different)
finite verbs.

tam tvābhih suṣtutibhir vājayanta, ājim na jagmur girvāho aśvāh RV.·
tam tvā girah suṣtutayo vājayanty, ājim na girvavāho jiguyr aśvāh SV.

anavahāyāsmān (KS adds *devi dakṣine*) *devayānena pathā* (TS. *patheta*,
KS. *pathā yatī*) *sukṛtām loke sīdata* (KS. *sīda*) TS MS KS.

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV. *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakubhi* (TB Poona ed also °*bhi*,
but comm. and Bibl. Ind ed. °*bhiḥ*; comm gloss *uttamāṅge;* MS
kakubbhih; AV *kakudi*) *śiśriyāṇah* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS
MS. TB   Followed in all by *tato na ugro vi bhajā vasūni.*

*viśvāvasur abhi tan no gṛṇātu, divyo gandharvo rajaso vimānah, yad vā
ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāh* RV
TA.: *vīrebhir adhi tan no gṛṇāno, rajaso vimāno, yad vā ghā satyam
uta yan na vidma, dhiya invāno dhiya in no avyāt* MS. (apparently
defective and corrupt)

[*upa no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS *utā no mitrāvarunā ihāgatam*)]
anvādidhyāthām iha (MS *manmā dīdhyānā utā*) *nah sakhāyā* MS.
TB. TA.

dāsyann adāsyann uta samgṛnāmi (TA. *uta vi kariṣyan*) AV. TA :
dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyah MS : *yad vādāsyan samjagārā
janebhyah* TB Ppp also reads *vā kariṣyan* for *samgṛnāmi* of AV.
6 71. 3   For others, see §231.

uṣasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat (so read with·Poona ed of TB). TB.
ApŚ.: *uṣām-uṣām śreyasīm dhehy asmai* AV.   Joined in TB ApŚ to
what in AV. is the next verse, ending: *rāyaspoṣam iṣam ūrjam
asmāsu dhehi* TB. ApŚ , *aiṣām ūrjaṁ rayim āsmāsu dhehi* AV.

tırah purū cıd arnavam jaganvān (SV. °*vāṅ jagamyāḥ*) RV. AV SV
Preceded ın RV AV by *vavr̥tyām* (SV. *vavr̥tyuḥ*).

[*ıyartı dhūmam aruṣam* (MS KS °*ṣo*) *bharıbhrad*] *uc chukrena śocıṣā
dyām ınakṣan* (TS ApMB. °*kṣat*) RV. VS TS KS MS ApMB.
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 299.

upasr̥jan (AŚ °*jam*; ŚG *upa sr̥jam*) *dharunam mātre* (AB AŚ omıt
mātre) *dharuno mātaram* (AB AŚ LŚ MŚ *mātaram dharuno*;
ApŚ *mātarā dharuno*) *dhayan* (followed by, *rāyas poṣam   asmāsu
dīdharat*) VS AB ŚB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG   But the read-
ıng -*sr̥jam* ıs doubtful, perhaps -*sr̥jan* ıs to be read everywhere
'Loosıng (I have loosed) the sucklıng (to hıs dam), the sucklıng as he
mılks hıs dam—may he maıntaın growth of wealth among us '

[*r̥dhad yas te sudānave*] *dhıyā martah śaśamate*, [*ūtī ṣa br̥hato dıvo, dvıṣo
aṅho na taratı*] RV 'der mann gedeıhet welcher dır dem reıchen
dıenet andachtsvoll, er durch des grossen hımmels schutz durch-
setzt den feınd wıe eıne schlucht' (Grassmann). [*sa ghā yas te dıvo
naro*] *dhıyā martasya śamatah*, [*ūtī sa br̥hato dıvo, dvıṣo anho na
taratı*] SV (very corrupt, hardly deserves cıtatıon under thıs rub-
rıc, *śamatah* gen sg pple wıth *martasya*)

sahasrapoṣam puṣyantī paramena paśunā krīyasva (KS *krīyase*) MS
KS   *paramena paśunā krīyase sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam* VS ŚB .
tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmı TS

saha jarāyunāva sarpatu (ApMB °*yunā nıṣkramya*) HG ApMB   Prec.
by *ejatu* ın both   For other forms of the varıant see §329

[*hınvāno vācam ıṣyası, pavamāna vıdharmanı*] *akrān devo na sūryah* RV .
[*jajñāno vācam ıṣyası, pavamāna vıdharmanı*] *krandam devo na sūr-
yah* SV

tā devīr devatremam yajñam nayata (KS *kr̥tvā*, TS MS *dhatta*), followed
by *upahūtāh somasya pıbata*, VS TS MS KS ŚB

dīrgham āyur yajamānāya kr̥nvan (MŚ *vında*) TB ApŚ MŚ , followed
,   ın TB ApŚ by *aṅgdhı*, ın MŚ by *āsīdasva*

te (masc plur.) *no nakṣatre havam āgamıṣṭhāh* ('most comıng', followed
by *juṣantām*) TB 3 1 1 6c   *te* (fem dual) *no nakṣatre havam ā
gametam* (2 dual opt) TB 3 1 3 1d

svargān (AŚ text *svagān*, Vaıt *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ °*tah*, Vaıt
jayema) SV AŚ ŚŚ Vaıt.   Preceded by *agman   AŚ* , ıf not cor-
rupt, understands *jayatah* as nom plur pple , cf §306

avımuktacakra (sc *tīre*) *āsīran* PG   *vıvr̥ttacakrā* (sc *prajāh*) *āsīnāh*
ApMB HG   (here preceded by *āhuh*).

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc charīram*) *payasā sametı* (TB *sametya*) TB
Vaıt   Followed by *bhavatı*

patyur anuvratā bhūtvā AV.· *agner anuvratā bhūtvā* TS KS TB MŚ.
ApMB : *māin anuvratā bhava* HG. The first two versions are fol-
lowed by finite verbs

sarāh patatriṇīh sthana (KS. *stha*) TS. MS KS . *sarā patatrinī˙bhūtvā*
AV. (here followed by *ehi*) *sīrāh patatrinī sthana* RV VS.

abhyarṣan (SV. *abhy arṣa*) *stotṛbhyo vīravad yaśah* RV. SV. In both
pavate precedes.

(*ā te yatante rathyo yathā pṛthak*) *chardhānsy agne ajarāni* (SV. *ajarasya*)
dhakṣatah (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ See §27.

tiṣṭhann (GB *caratv*) *āsīno yadi vā svapann api* ŚB. GB.   Prec in both
by *śramād anyatra parivartamānah* (not °*nāh* as Conc. reads).

(*vi yat pavitram dhiṣanā atanvata*) *gharmam śocantah* (AŚ. *śocanta*, ŚŚ.
°*tam*) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB. AŚ ŚŚ. We
have no confidence in the edition of AŚ. on such a reading as *śo-
canta.*

abandhv eke dadatah prayachanto, dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV.
'some without relatives, giving, bestowing—if they be able to give,
that is very heaven' (Whitney). *abandhv eke dadata prayachād,
dātum cec chaknuvānsah svarga eṣām* TA. Both forms are poor
and probably corrupt   In TA read *dadatah* with comm. and Poona
ed. text; probably also *chaknavān* (or b·tter °*vān*) *sa* with Poona
ed text, which notes v. 1 *chaknuvāṅsah*; the comm. explains
prayachāt as *prayachanti*, which suggests that *prayachān* is to be
read with AVPpp

caraty ananuvratā ApMB HG : *vicaranty apativratā* ŚG. MDh. Both
preceded by finite *pralulubhe* or *pralulobka*

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS °*gah*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *samsarpa*
(KS. °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. °*gānl lokān*) KS ApŚ
Followed by *gacha*   See §130.

yajāno (or *yajā no*, so Garbe's ed of ApŚ., followed by Caland's Transl ,
the others all *yajāno;* MS p. p. *yajānah*, some mss. *yajamāno;* TB.
comm interprets as pple) *devān* (MS *devo*) *ajarah suvīrah* (asso-
ciated with *gopāya nah*) MS TB. AŚ ApŚ   It is questionable
whether *yajā no* has any standing

datto (= *datta u*) *asmabhyaṁ* (KS. *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB.
dattāsma°) *dravineha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no
dravinaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS   Followed by sundry finite verbs.

sa īṁ vṛṣājanayat (KS *vṛṣā janayans*) *tāsu garbham, sa īm śiśur dhayati
tam rihanti* RV. KS   The Conc. suggests emendation of KS to
-*janayat;* but von Schroeder keeps his text, which is no doubt inter-
pretable if somewhat harsh.

śatam jīvantu (AV. °*tah*) *śaradah purūcīh* RV AV. VS. ŚB TB TA.
ApŚ. ApMB.   Followed by *antar* (*tro*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (*dadhmahe*)
parvatena

āprīnānau vtjahatā arātım (TB. ApŚ *samjānānau vtjahatām arātīr*), *dwi*
(KS. *dwe*) *jyotır uttamam* (TB. ApŚ. *ajaram*) *ārabhethām* (TB
ApŚ °*tām*) MS KS. TB. ApŚ *vtjahatā(u)*, dual pple.; °*tām*, 3 dual
impv.

prajām ajaryām nah kuru, rāyas poṣeṇa sam sṛpa SMB · *prajām suvī-
rām* (PG *suvīryām*) *kṛtvā, vtśvam* (PG. *dīrgham*) *āyur vy aśnavat*
(PG °*vat*) TS PG

ˋ*ahar-ahar* (AV. TS *rātrım-rātrım*, MS. KS ŚB * *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayā-
vam bharantah* AV. VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. *ahar-ahar balım ıt te
harantah* AV.. *vıśvāhā te sadam ıd bharema* AV. Followed by
finite verb

(*upakṣarantı juhvo ghṛtena*) *prıyāny aṅgānı tava vardhayantīh* (*sc srucah*)
TB.· *abhıkṣarantı juhvo ghṛtenāṅgā parūnṣı tava vardhayantı* (one
ms °*tī*, pointing also to °*tīh*) Vait.

sa pūrvavaj janayañ (TA ApŚ °*yaj*) *jantave dhanam* RV PB. TA. ApŚ
Followed by *pary etı* (*parı yātı*) in next pāda   The secondary char-
acter of *janáyaj* (so!) in TA. is emphasized by its retention of the
accent of *janáyan*

tat tvam ārohāso medhyo bhava TA (Poona ed *bhavam*, but ∨ 1 and
comm *bhava*), 'do thou, O spırıt, ascend, become sacrıfıcıal'. *ṭad
ā roha puruṣa medhyo bhavan* AV. 'ascend that, O man, becoming
sacrıfıcıal' See Whıtney's Transl and note. Most mss do not
accent *bhavan*

pratıṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratıṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB °*yet*) AB.
GB.   Gaastra consıders GB corrupt

dyumnam vṛnīta puṣyase (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV VS. TS MS KS
ŚB.: *dyumne vareta puṣyatu* KS   Cf §163. *puṣyase* is infinitive

tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (HG *cendhi*) AG HG   The word *ındhı*
(*ıddha*) is better taken, with Oldenberg, as part of the following
phrase, *vardhaya cāsmān* (in both)

ahīnś ca sarvāñ jambhaya, sarvāś ca yātudhānyo, 'dharācīh parā suva KS
ahīnś ca sarvān (TS °*vāñ*) *jambhayan, sarvāś ca yātudhānyah* (VS
MS °*dhānyo, 'dharācīh parā suva*) VS TS MS

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantau (PB *abhısam*°) TS PB. TB PG
ApMB : *dhvāntā vātā agnım* (mss *vātāgnım*, both texts) *abhı ye sam
carantı* MŚ MG   The prıncıpal verb follows in the last pāda

sāhyāma (RV. *sāhvānso*) *dasyum avratam* RV SV. Prec in both by 1
plur finite verbs

samānam yonim anu saṃcárantī (AV. MS °*carete*) RV AV TS. MS. KS ApMB   Followed by *caratah*   The ed of KS. reads °*carete* also, but the single ms °*carante*, which as the editor observes might quite as well stand for °*carantī*

ādityaṃ garbham payasā sam añgdhi (TS KS. *samañjan*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB.   Followed by *parwṛñgdhi*

ubhayor lokayor ṛddhvā (MŚ *ṛdhnomi*) TB TAA. ApŚ MŚ   Followed by (*ati*) *tarāmi*

[*punāno vāram pary ety* (SV. *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam*] *śyeno na yonim ghṛtavantam āsadam* (SV °*dat*) RV SV ApŚ   *āsadam* is infin , 'to sit', SV. makes it a finite verb, 'he has sat', which goes very ill with the 2d person *eṣi* which SV substitutes for RV *eti*.   Compare the pāda *śyeno na yonim āsadat*, RV etc , which seems to have influenced SV

janiyanti nāv agravah, putriyanti sudānavah AV . *janīyanto nv agravah, putrīyantah sudānavah* RV. SV. (followed by *havāmahe*)

[*vṛṣṭiṃ divah pavasva rītim apām* (SV *apo*)] *jinvā* (SV *jinvan*) *gaviṣṭaye dhiyah* RV. SV.

jyok ca sūryam dṛśe (LŚ *dṛśeyam*) RV AV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. TA. LŚ. Kauś ApMB. HG.

(*parārciṣā mūradevāñ chṛnīhi*) *parāsutṛpah śośucatah śṛnīhi* (RV. °*tṛpo abhiśośucānah*) RV. AV.

devā amuñcann (AV. *muñcanto*) *asṛjan vy* (AV. *nir*) *enasah* AV. TB. HG ApMB.

puṣyema (AA *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahe ta* (AA. *tam*) *indra* SV AA ŚŚ. See Keith, AA 285, note 7.

(*yo* ..) *hṛdārātīyād* (KS °*yann*) *abhidāsad agne* KS TB ApŚ   Caland on ApŚ. not unnaturally thinks of reading *abhidāsād*, to match *arātīyād;* but KS is against it

marmṛjyante (SV *marjayantūr*) *divah śiśum* RV SV.   Prec by *abhy anūṣata*

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hinsiṣṭam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS *āviśāthah*) MS KS . *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS † *svam*) *yonim āviśantī* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ.

ut tiṣṭha (VS ŚB. KŚ *utthāya*) *bṛhatī* (TA. *bṛhan*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA KŚ MŚ

(*yad dha krānā vivasvati*) *nābhā samdāyi navyasī* (*adha pra sū na upa yantu dhītayah*) RV   (*yad dha krānā vivasvate*) *nābhā samdāya navyase* (*adha pra nūnam upa yanti dhītayah*) SV.

stuṣeyyaṃ puruvarpasam ṛbhvam RV. AV. N : *stuṣva varṣman puruvart-*

mānam samṛbhvāṇam AV. *stuṣeyya* is a gerundive formation, 'him that should be praised', dependent on a verb of the prec stanza In the other form a different stanza precedes, and the finite *stuṣva* (which, as impv., transfuses the same idea into other words) is therefore substituted

venas tat paśyat paramam guhā yat (VS. *paśyan nihitam guhā sat;* TA MahānU. *paśyan nśvā bhuvanāni vidvān*) AV. VS TA MahānU Here there is no verb on which the participle *paśyan* can depend, TA comm lamely supplies *vartate*

[*bradhnah samīcīr uṣasah samairayat* (AV. *°yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ MŚ. Again there is no finite verb here on which the pple. might depend; and Whitney adopts the SV reading]

[*ariṣṭair nah pathibhih pārayantā* (GB *°tu*) RV. TS MS KS. AB GB But GB is merely corrupt Gaastra reads with one ms. *°tā* (dual pple)]

[*daṅsanābhir aśvinā pārayantā* (TB *°tām*) RV TB Poona ed also *°tām;* but comm. *°tā,* dual pple , which is the only possible form, a plural verb being uninterpretable]

CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN EQUIVALENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

§251. The variants avail themselves freely of the possibilities of equivalent personal verb endings. The ranging of these interchanges covers nearly all the grammatical territory concerning this matter. We deal with them as follows:

1. *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*.

2. Subjunctive endings in *si* and *s*, *ti* and *t*, *te* and *tai*, *vahe* and *vahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*

3 Imperatives in *tāt* interchanging with other imperatives.

4. Presence or absence of imperative 2d singular *dhi* (*hi*), and interchange between *dhi* and *hi*.

5. Second plural active endings with or without final *na*.

6. Endings in *a* sometimes rhythmically lengthened to *ā*.

7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

1 r-*endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without* r

§252. There are two variations between *ram* and *ran* with wavering chronological indications (RV. *adṛśram*, AV. *adṛśran;* but also RV. *asṛgran*, SV. *asṛgram*). On the other hand, as between 3 plural middle perfects in *re* and *rire*, (Whitney, *Grammar* §550d) the more archaic forms in *re*, *duduhre* and *dadṛśre*, belong to RV., *duduhrire* and *dadṛśrire* to later texts Unexpectedly, archaizing *r*-endings replace the normal 3 sing. imperfect middle *adhatta* (RV AV) in *adhadrāh* (SV.), *adadhrām* (KS.), and *athadrām* (TA, corrupt) Very anomalously the form *adṛśran* seems to be used as an active in several YV. texts, only TS. NīlarU. having the regular *adṛśan* And the 3 plural present middle *duhate* varies with *duhrate*, not only once in the RV. itself, but also once between RV and AV., the AV. showing the more archaizing *duhrate:*

> *ghṛtaṁ duhrata* (and, *duhata*) *āśiram* RV. (both). See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and next.

> *te dakṣiṇām duhate* (AV *te duhrate dakṣiṇām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV. See prec

> *asṛgran* (SV. °*ram*) *devavītaye* RV. SV.

169

adṛśram (AV * ArS MS. KS MŚ °*rann*) *asya ketavah* RV. AV (both)
    ArS. VS. MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ.

trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh °*hrire*) RV SV Svidh
    Here the SV. smooths out, secondarily no doubt, the meter in an
    otherwise *jagatī* stanza, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 287

śṛṅgāṇīvec chṛṅgiṇām sam dadṛśre (TB ApŚ °*śrire*) RV. KB TB ApŚ
    Here the stanza is *triṣṭubh*

śerate (AB *śere*) '*sya sarve pāpmānah* AB ŚŚ   On these forms see Whit-
    ney, *Grammar* §§550d, 629   The AB , in an *anuṣṭubh* stanza, has
    better meter, Hillebrandt suggests deletion of '*sya* in ŚŚ

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhadrāh*, KS *adadhrām*)
    RV. AV. SV. KS : *upa stuhi* (Poona ed *snuhi*) *tam nṛmnām atha-
    drām* TA   In RV , 'the hero-minded (god) has driven away the
    enemies '   The *r*-forms of even SV and KS are highly proble-
    matic; as to TA , the only certain thing about it is that it is badly
    corrupted, and this applies to more than the one word *athadrām*
    (the comm has a v. l *athodrām,* its gloss is *adhodravanaśīlam*[1])

utainam gopā adṛśran (TS *adṛśan*) VS TS MS KS   *uta tvā gopā
    adṛśan* NīlarU   The anomalous *adṛśran* is obviously felt as 3
    plural with active meaning,[1] Mahīdhara, *paśyanti*   It might, per-
    haps, be included under variations between active and middle
    without change of meaning, §38ff   This variant is followed in
    VS. TS by: *adṛśrann* (TS † *adṛśann*) *udahāryah* VS TS

2 *Subjunctive endings in* si *and* s, ti *and* t, te *and* tai, vahe *and* vahai,
    mahe *and* mahai

§253   These optional endings of the subjunctive interchange, in
general without chronological indications, but metrical criteria are
sometimes involved, since the shorter endings *s* and *t* help to produce
shorter lines   As to the *e* and *ai* endings the phonetic relations between
these two sounds must be considered, as set forth in §26, and further-
more some of the *e*-forms may be considered indicatives, cf §§118, 124

yathā nah subhagāsasi (AV *sumanā asah*) RV AV TA
yathā nah suphalāsasi (AV *suphalā bhuvah*) RV AV TA
subheṣajam yathāsati (AV °*si*, LŚ °*sat*) AV TS MS. KS. LŚ (the last
    secondary and metrically poor)
viprā gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA °*ṣat*) AA ŚŚ   *viprāya gātham
    gāyata yam jujoṣate* SV
sa no nediṣṭham havanāny āgamat (and once, *havanāni joṣat*) KS (ter)
    sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS *havanā jujoṣa*) TS MS : *sa no
    viśvāni havanāni joṣat* VS ŚB

teṣām yo ajyānım ('*jyānim*) *ajîlım āvahāt* TS. SMB.† (ın Jorgensen as
TS.) PG. BDh.· *teṣām ajyānım* (MŚ. °*nam*) *yatamo na āvahāt*
(AV. *yatamo vahātı*) AV. KS MŚ

anu nau śūra mansate (TS °*taı*) RV. TS KSA.

yā na ūrū uśatı vıśrayāte (AV. °*tı*, ApMB. HG. *vısrayātaı*) RV. AV.
ApMB. HG.

parı ṣvajāte (AV °*taı*) *lıbujeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV N

pra yah satrācā (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB °*taı*) RV TB.

(*net tvā*) *dadhad vıdhakṣyan paryañkhayātaı* TA.· (*net tvā*) *dadhṛg*
vıdhakṣyan paryañkhayāte (AV. *vıdhakṣan parīñkhayātaı*) RV. AV.
See §§234c, 27

yam jıvam aśnavāmahaı (MS °*he*) RV. AV VS. TS MS KS.

yayā gā ākarāmahe (SV. °*haı*) RV. SV.

(*kva tyānı nau sakhyā babhūvuh*) *sacāvahe* (MS °*haı*) *yad avṛkam purā*
cıt RV MS. But in §124 we have treated *sacāvahe* as indicative.

3 *Imperatıves ın* tāt *exchangıng wıth other imperatıves*

§254 On this ınterchange see §150. It begıns ın the RV ıtself, ın
the first of the followıng lıst, where there ıs reason to regard the form ın
tāt as the older, see §100:

pra no yachatād avṛkam pṛthu chardıh RV. 1. 48. 15. *prāsmaı yachatam*
avṛkam pṛthu chardıh RV. 8 9 1

vıṣūcīnān (VSK °*nā*) *vyasyatām* (VSK °*tāt*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB.

ūrdhvām enām (or, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS * ŚB * MS *chrāpaya*)
VS (both) TS MS KSA ŚB. (both) TB AŚ. ŚŚ. Vaıt LŚ ApŚ.

nır anhasah pıpṛtā (TB. °*tān*) *nır avadyāt* RV. VS. MS TB Is TB.
(both edıtions, text and comm) relıable? Comm *pıpṛtāt pālayata.*

punar māvıśatād (MŚ °*tām*) *rayıh* VS TS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

sā (HG *sa*) *mām āvıśatād ıha* (MG *āvıśatām ıhaıva*) ApMB HG. MG ·
sā medhā vıśatād u mām RVKh 10 151 3d (correct reference ın
Conc) For RVKh Scheftelowıtz reads exactly as ApMB.

chandonāmānām (wıth varıants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*,
MŚ *gachet*) VS. VSK TS. ŚB MŚ.

etam jānātha (TB *jānūtāt*, KS *jānūta*) *parame vyoman* VS KS ŚB.
TB *jānūta smaınam* (TS. MŚ *jānītād enam*) *parame vyoman*
AV TS MŚ See §104, s

ıṣṭāpurte kṛnavāthāvır (VSK ŚB *kṛnavathāvır*, TS TB MŚ. *kṛnutād*
āvır) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS. VSK TS ŚB. TB MŚ · *iṣṭāpūrtam*
(AV. °*tam sma*) *kṛnutād āvır* (AV *kṛnutāvır*) *asmaı* AV KS The
patchword *sma* ın AV suggests that ıts readıng ıs lıkely to be
secondary.

jaitrāyā (ApMB HG. °*tryāyā*) *viśalād u mām* (ApMB. °*tān mām*, HG.
°*tām mām*) RVKh VS ApMB HG

4. *Presence or absence of imperative 2 sing. ending* dhi (hi), *and interchange
between* dhi *and* hi

§255. As a matter of grammatical genesis the forms with *dhi* or *hi*
should be anterior to those without ending, and *dhi* anterior to *hi;* and
the first and fourth examples agree with this. But in the third, *kṛnuhi*
of Vait. is hyper-archaic as regards the stem *kṛnu-* §186 And in the
second, *tanuhi* of LŚ is for similar reasons unusable for chronological
deductions On this whole matter see most recently Bloch, *MSL* 23.
176; he regards *hi* (rather than *dhi*) as the regular ending with polysyl-
labic bases, and explains *śṛṇudhi* (as in our fourth example) as due to
the analogy of *śrudhi* from a monosyllabic base.

abhy enam bhūma ūrnuhi (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV AV. TA

asāv (*asā*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ *tanuhi* [printed in text as *tanu hi*] *jyotiṣā*)
  MŚ. KS. LŚ ApŚ. MŚ.

ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam varcasvantam (MŚ *mām sahasvantam*)
  manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait *āyuṣmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*) TS MS
  AŚ Vait.

nṝn (MS *nṝns*) *pāhi śṛnudhī* (SV.°*hī*) *girah* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB

5. *Second plural endings with or without* na

§256. The endings *tana* and *thana* contain an extra syllable, as com-
pared with *ta* and *tha* The longer forms are suitable for even syllable
cadences ($\cup - \cup \underset{\smile}{\smile}$, iambic dipody), the shorter forms for the corre-
sponding catalectic cadence ($\cup - \underset{\smile}{\smile}$) The RV. itself uses this corre-
spondence to construct otherwise identical *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* pādas
asmabhyam śarma bahulam vi yantana 5 55 9, and   *yanta* 6 51 5 ,
adhi stotrasya sakhyasya gātana 5 55 9, and .*gāta* 10 78 8

See *RV Rep* 530, 563, where these appear among similar metrical and
grammatical devices for procuring practically identical or very similar
pairs of *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* lines At times the use of the shorter form
is accompanied by the introduction of a patch-word as metrical com-
pensation, or the longer form replaces such a patch-word, as in.
tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB. N

These differences may suggest critical conclusions, as in. *paretana*
(TS KS. ApŚ *pareta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ. *somyāh*) TS MS KS
AŚ. ApŚ., which doubtless read originally *paretana pitarah somyāsah*

We group the passages as much as possible with such considerations in mind:

§257. Passages without patch-word, and otherwise essentially identical:

tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana RV. 10 37. 11d: *athā naḥ śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *adhā naḥ śam yor arapo dadhāta* AV.: *athāsmabhyam śam yor arapo dadhāta* TS. In MS the p.p reads *dadhāta*; the longer form disturbs the meter of the (*triṣṭubh*) stanza. Yet, most interestingly, one AV ms. also has *dadhātana* This reading is obviously due to the influence of RV. 10 37. 11d, which occurs in a *jagatī* stanza, and where °*tana* is therefore in order.

paretana (pareta) etc., see above; the two RV. repetitions quoted above are likewise not repeated here

athā rayim sarvavīraṁ dadhātana RV. VS. TS MS. KS : *rayim ca naḥ sarvavīraṁ dadhāta* AV 18 3 14d, 44d. All texts except AV. 18. 3. 14 have the pāda in an entirely *jagatī* stanza, where *dadhātana* is therefore appropriate, and so the AV. comm reads on 18. 3. 44. AV. 18 3 14 is *triṣṭubh*, and so has properly *dadhāta*.

amī ye vivratā (MS °*tāh*, KS °*tās*) *sthana* (MS *stha*) AV. MS KS. The form *stha* is metrically poor.

sarāh patatriṇīh sthana (KS *stha*) TS. MS KS : *sīrāh patatrinī sthana* RV. VS Again the short form is inferior, and clearly secondary.

svāveśā nā āgata MS : *anamīvā upetana* AV.

ye ke ca bhrātarah sthana (ŚŚ. *sthāh?*) AB ŚŚ. The form of ŚŚ 15. 26c is difficult Tho it is written *sthā* and followed by a vowel, Hillebrandt (Index) understands it (doubtfully) as = *stha* + *ā* (rather than *sthāh* as given by Conc) It is in any case secondary.

§258 Passages in which the short form is filled out with a patch-word·

srucā juhuta no (ŚŚ *juhutanā) havih* TB ŚŚ. ApŚ.

ramadhvam mā bibhīta mat (Kauś *bibhītana*) AV. Kauś

gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG. *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG HG Cf *grhā māsmad bibhītana* AV. HG.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB N. See §365. Here, of course, the shorter form, in -*tu*, not -*ta*, is not the equivalent of the longer one, the variant is quoted as showing a similar trend.

6 *Endings in -a sometimes rhythmically lengthened to -ā*

[§259. These cases do not concern primarily the Verb Variants, but rather the Phonetic Variants, and we shall reserve a full treatment of them for that section of our work, contenting ourselves here with a very brief summary and a bare list of the instances   The forms in *ā* are not regarded by the texts themselves as variant endings, but merely as phonetic forms of the endings in short *a*, on a level with the alterations required by sandhi.   This is evidenced by the facts that all the pada-pāṭhas regularly substitute the form in short *a* for *ā;* that the *ā* is not allowed to stand at the end of a pāda, and that in TS it is not allowed at the end of a *kandikā* (cf Wackernagel 1 §265a, note).   For this last reason, in two variant pādas, where all other texts have final *ā,* the TS. has short *a,* for the sole reason that the word in question happens to come at the end of that purely mechanical division of its text.

vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS *bhava) nah* RV. VS TS MS KS

bṛhaspate pari dīyā (TS *dīya) rathena* RV. AV. SV. VS TS. MS KS

There is among the variants one case where some texts have the *ā* at the end of a pāda, namely:

vanaspate 'va sṛjā (KS. *sṛja)* AV. VS TS MS KS.

Here KS alone has the short *a* which is required at the end of a pāda   The case is however peculiar, and it is by no means certain that AV. means to end the pāda here.   Indeed, all the mss , both editions, and the Anukramaṇī add to this pāda the next following word, *rarāṇah;* after which the text proceeds, *imanā devebhyo agnir havyam śamitā svadayatu*   Whatever may have been the real intent of AV., there is no doubt that the YV. texts end the pāda with *sṛjā.*   However, the whole stanza is a bungling reminiscence of RV. 3 4 10ab, *vanaspate 'va sṛjopa devān, agnir havih śamitā sūdayāti* (in the last pāda the YV. texts agree with RV.).   And there is obviously a connection between the *ā* of *sṛjā* and the fact that in the oldest form (in RV.) the word did not end the pāda, as indeed it does not, according to the unanimous tradition, in AV

§260. The lengthening of the final *a* is rhythmic, not metrical   See Wackernagel 1. §266a   The poets, to be sure, make free use of the license to lengthen the final *a* in syllables where the meter requires *ā* long   But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements, but of sentence rhythm.   It occurred, originally, in places where the next word began with a single consonant, so that the syllable would be otherwise short (be it remembered that it *never* occurred before a pause[1]), and regularly where the following syllable was short; perhaps in the beginning when the preceding syllable was also short   That is, it was due to

avoidance of a succession of short syllables unrelieved by a long. In the variants clear traces of this fact will appear; we shall show, in our section on Phonetics, that the following word almost invariably begins with a single consonant, and that the following syllable is usually short The preceding syllable, however, is short only about half the time, among the cases occurring in the variants. That it is not a matter of metrical requirements is shown by the fact that the lengthening occurs most often (among the variants) in syllables where metrical length is not required; it is much commoner in the first part of the pāda than in the cadence.

§261. All these matters will be duly set forth, along with other precisely similar cases of rhythmically lengthened final *a* in other than verb forms, in our section on Phonetics. The variant pādas which show it in verbal endings are the following, in addition to the above. The reader may be reminded of the somewhat similar variations between long and short vowels in the interior of causative (§242) and denominative stems (§243) and in reduplicating syllables (§271); these are probably also rhythmic in character. F. E]

tam ā pṛna (TB *pṛnā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

ājuhotā (TB. ApŚ. °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. (ApŚ. ,Pratīka)

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

apo devīr upa sṛja (MS *sṛjā*) *madhumatīh* VS TS MS KS. ŚB

agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aditsan vā (MS. *dhipsyaṁ vā*, TB *yad vādāsyan*) *samjagara* (TB °*ja-gārā*; MS °*cakara*) *janebhyah* MS TB. TA.

sapta yonīr (KS. *yonīnr*) *ā pṛnasva* (TS KS TB °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. *syā mahonām*) RV SV.

indra somam imaṁ piba RV. ŚŚ · *indra somam pibā imam* RV. AV SV MS   The p p of both RV. and MS *piba*, not *pibāh*, see Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 8 17 1

vayam rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma (MS. KS. °*mā*; TS and MS p p *jāgṛyāma*) *purohitāh* VS VSK TS MS KS

vidma te svapna janitram AV. *vidma* (text *mā*; read *ma*?) *te svapna* (pratīka) Kauś

vidmā te nāma (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV. VS TS MS KS. ŚB ApMB.

hinva (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS Vait. KŚ ApŚ MŚ

gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °*tā*; MS. °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS *vet*, TA *vaṭ*) VS MS ŚB. TA   It is not likely to be accidental that TA , the only text which has a short syllable following, lengthens the final *ā*.

idam me prāvatā vacaḥ RV. VS. TS KS. TB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vācaṁ
me* MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś.

juhota (AV. °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV VS TA.

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* RV AV VS. ŚB. TA.
Kauś

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. °*vā*) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV KS AB. ŚB

yasmād yoner udārīthā (KS. °*tha*) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS
MS. KS. ŚB.

ud īrayathā (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV KS °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV.
TS MS. KS. AŚ and pratīka MŚ

dyumantam śuṣmam ā bharā (SV. *bhara*) *svarvidam* RV. SV.

vahā (TB N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS *dadhiṣo*, but most mss. *di*°)
havīṁṣi MS KS TB N

janiṣta (TS. *janiṣvā*, MS °*ṣva*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS MS. KS.
ApŚ.

ramayata (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretam
vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ Three mss of KS also read *ramayata*
pretā jayatā narah RV. AV SV VS · *upa preta jayatā narah* TS

yatrā naś cakrā (KS Conc *cakra*, with one ms., but ed *cakrā*) *jarasam
tanūnām* RV. VS MS KS GB ŚB. ApŚ ApMB HG

7. *Miscellaneous interchanges of endings*

§262. Here are grouped various sporadic cases of interchanges
concerning endings

(a) Precatives 3d singular in *yās* and *yāt*

See Whitney, *Grammar* §838

pari ṇo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK °*yāt*) RV. VSK : *pari vo hetī rudrasya
vṛjyāh* (TB *vṛñjyāt*) RV. TB. See §104, u, and *RVRep* 573.

indras te soma sutasya peyāh (SV. *peyāt*) RV SV.   •

narāśanso gnāspatir no avyāt (RV *avyāh*) RV. MS TB.

dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāh (TA *avyāt*) RV. TA : *dhiya invāno
dhiya in no avyāt* MS

(b) *s*-aorist 3d singular in older and later forms.

The older non-thematic type of conjugation of *s*-aorists calls for a
3d singular active ending *s*, for *st*, and after a consonant even the *s* is
lost (Whitney, *Grammar* §888)   This form exchanges twice with 3d
singulars of the later type in *sīt*   With these may be compared the forms
which we have classified §202 as root-aorists from roots in *ā* (*ahāt*,
aprāt) which vary with *s*-aorists from the same roots (*ahās*, *aprās*, 3d
sing); the *t*-forms may also be considered as belonging in this category.

agnis te tanuvam māti dhāk TS. TB. ApŚ · *agnis te tejo mā prati dhākṣīt*
JB

yan me 'dya retah pṛthivīm askāntsīt (TA *askān*) ŚB. TA BṛhU.

(c) Confusion of 1st plural *mas* and *ma*.

Aside from cases which may be considered different tenses, we find the following small group, on which cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§548a, 636d, 795a There have of course a phonetic aspect, the final visarga was lightly pronounced, see §25 above It is noteworthy that all occur at the end of pādas, or practically so (followed by a particle of interjection only)

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ.

abhiratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BrhPDh.

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG. PG.

prati bhāgam na dīdhima (SV. °*mah*) RV AV. SV VS N. Whitney,
    Roots, s. v *dhī*, regards both forms as 1 plur perfect.

īśānam tvā śuśrumo (KS °*mā*) *vayam* KS ApŚ.

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra*°) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*, TA. *saścimah*) RV.
    VS MS ŚB TA 1st plural perfect of *sac*. But in TA. *saścima*
    should be read, with Poona ed text and comm (v. 1 one ms °*mah*).

(d) 1st singular preterites active in *am*, exchanging with *m*

In a case or two the preterite 1st singular active ending *am* is replaced by *m*, preceded by another vowel (that of the 2d and 3d persons), by analogy with the 2d and 3d persons Thus, we have in the RV. itself this repeated pāda

vadhīd vṛtram vajrena mandasānah 4 17 3, *vadhīm* etc , 10 28. 7, where *vadhīm* is certainly made in direct imitation of *vadhīd*, see *RV Rep.* 220, 564 Cf also:

tveṣam vaco apāvadhīt (TS TB. °*dhīm*, MS °*dhīh*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB As (*a*)*vadhīm* is a blend of *avadham* and *avadhīt*, so *agrabhīm* in the following is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhīt*, and *abhūm* of *abhūvam* and *abhūt*

iṣam ūrjam sam agrabham (TS °*bhīm*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB

abhyasikṣi rājābhūm (MS v. 1 °*bhūt*, ApŚ. °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ : *abhiśikṣa*
    rājābhuvam (v 1 °*bhūvam*) MŚ. Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §830a.
    The MŚ passage is quoted on Knauer's authority from unedited
    mss

(e) Subjunctive sign *ā* interchanging with *a* in non-thematic forms

The forms with short *a* are, of course, morphologically at least, the primary ones, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§560e, 701

yathā jyok sumanā asat (ApMB *asāh*) ApMB HG

yathāso mitravardhanah AV KS   *yathāsā rāṣṭravardhanah* TB (no need
    to read *yathāso* as suggested in Conc)

yat sanavatha (MS KS °*vātha*) *pūruṣam* RV VS TS MS KS

iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir (VSK ŚB °*vathāvir*, TS TB MŚ *kṛṇutād āvir*)
    asmai (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ

punas te prāna āyati (so TS † TA *āyāti*, AŚ *āyātu*) TS TA AŚ

(f) Sporadic and doubtful interchanges of *babhūtha* and *babhūva*

tvam hi hotā prathamo babhūtha (MŚ SMB MG *babhūva*, and so 2 mss. of
    Kauś) TS KS MŚ Kauś SMB. MG   Comm at SMB *babhūva,*
    babhūtha

patyur janitvam abhi sam babhūtha (TA °*va*) RV. AV TA   'Thou hast
    entered into the relation of wife to husband ' The comm on TA ,
    which reads *babhūva* in both edd , glosses *samyak prāpnuhi*   These
    two cases suggest interesting reflections on commentators' psycho-
    logy, but they are not really as bad as they look, *babhūva* is probably
    due to a blend construction, with thought of *bhavān* or *bhavatī* under-
    stood   Such constructions are not unknown in the later language
    See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 43 297, and below, §332 —A third inter-
    change between *babhūtha* and *babhūva* is rectified in the Poona ed
    of TB , see §342

(g) The endings *masi* and *mas*

A single time, in late texts, these interchange, the form in *masi* being
apparently the original, or certainly metrically superior

yatra vayam vadāmasi (HG °*mah*) ApMB HG

(h) 3d plural *ūh* for *uh*.

upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh (TB *gūh*) RV MS TB 3d plural root-
    aor of *gā*, TB (both edd) anomalous, comm *gachanto vartante.*

(j) *īre* for *ire* in 3d plur perfect middle (passive)

tāh prācya (Vait °*yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjagāhire* (KŚ † °*hire*, Vait *sam-*
    jigāīre, all mss) KŚ Vait MŚ   *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ

(k) Precative 2d plural with primary *tha* for secondary *ta*

ye 'tra pitarah   bhūyāstha AV ŚŚ   *ya etasmin loke   bhūyāsta* TS
    TB   The form in *tha* is of course wholly anomalous, but appears to
    be read by all mss of both AV and ŚŚ , see Whitney on AV 18.
    4. 86, and §17

CHAPTER VIII. MATTERS PERTAINING TO AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION

§263 This chapter is concerned with two topics: presence or absence of augment in preterite forms, and various changes in the form of reduplication

PRETERITES WITH AND WITHOUT AUGMENT

§264. Augmentless forms are ambiguous, being either preterites or injunctives, the functional relation of augmentless forms to corresponding augmented forms is therefore indeterminate. This uncertainty is increased by the frequent correspondence otherwise between preterites and all sorts of definite modal forms which we have met as one of the established features of the variants Just as those correspondences take place both in principal clauses (§§130 ff) and in dependent clauses (§145), so the interchanges between augmented and augmentless preterites may be conveniently divided into the same two groups The following list rests on the assumption that both are preterites But in the circumstances of Vedic diction there is ᴸᴏthing to prevent one or another of them from harboring interchange between preterite and modal (injunctive) force. Thus,

bhargo me 'vocah· bhargam me vocah,

might be respectively, 'thou hast bespoken for me luster', and, 'bespeak for me luster' Such a case would then have to be transferred to the rubric Aorist and Injunctive, §132 And, conversely, various of the forms which we have tentatively grouped under Preterites and Injunctives might perhaps équally well be placed here See also §146 for a few cases of augmented and augmentless prohibitives

§265 When the word preceding the variant verb-form ends in *e* or ، *o*, we must further remember that the following augment *a* is usually (and especially in late texts) represented, if at all, only by the *avagraha* in our manuscript tradition, and the presence or absence of this *avagraha* in our edited texts is often a matter of editing only, since the manuscripts are apt to be very undependable Thus, in the above-mentioned example *bhargo me 'vocah,* the Conc records MŚ 5 2 15 2 as *'vocah,* and Knauer's text reads so, but his note tells us that his mss omit the *avagraha,* both here and generally. In such cases, therefore, little im-

portance is to be attached to this seeming variation Hence we have separated in the following list the cases in which the verb is preceded by *e* or *o* from the rest

Preterites with or without augment in principal clauses

§266 a Preceded by a word ending in *e* or *o*

indrāya tvā srmo 'dadāt (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB   Cf §193   Oldenberg regards *dadat* as modal, which is of course possible

tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS MŚ *dadat*) KS ApŚ MŚ   Again *dadat* may be modal

somo dadad (SMB. GG PG *'dadad*, HG *'dadād*) *gandharvāya, gandharvo dadad* (SMB *'dadad*) *agnaye* (HG *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*) RV AV. SMB. GG. PG ApMB HG MG   See the preceding two items.

bhargo me 'vocah (PB text *vocah*, comm *avocah* = *uktavān asi*, on MŚ see above) PB. ApŚ MŚ AG . *bhargam me vocah* ŚŚ   Also with *bhadram, bhūtim, yaśo,* etc

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS TS TB *'yāt*) VS TS KS ŚB. TB   *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS KS   Here both forms seem to be preterites, 'I have (thou hast) sacrificed away'; no modal force is likely

(*agniś ca viṣṇo tapa uttamam maho) dīkṣāpālebhyo 'vanatam* (AŚ *dīkṣāpālāya vanatam*) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ   So the Bibl Ind ed of TB reads, in text and comm , but the comm treats (*a)vanatam* as modal, and the Poona ed , text and comm , reads *vanatam*   Probably no real variant

[*satyam ṛte* (and, *ṛtam satye*) *dhāyi* (ApŚ *'dhāyi,* TS KSA *'dhām*) TS. KSA TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed of TB reads *'dhāyi*   See §85 Both forms preterites, but probably no augmentless form involved]

§267. b Not preceded by *e* or *o*

ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi (TA °*dīt*) RV TA   *ā gharmo agnir amṛto na sādi* MS

uktham avācīndrāya ŚŚ · *uktham vācīndrāya* TS AB. GB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ   *ukthyam vācīndrāya śṛnvate tvā* AŚ

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB °*bhaiṣam,* PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG ApMB HG   *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh   Stenzler renders PG. 1 13 1 'moge ich den Namen eines Vaters erlangen' But three preterites besides *jagrabham* make the construction of the latter (pluperfect, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §818a) as preterite more likely. See §§206, 219f

turīyenāmanvata (ŚŚ *turīyena manvata*) *nāma dhenoh* AV ŚŚ

utem anamnamuh (KB ŚB KŚ. ŚŚ. *uteva namnamuh*) TS MS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayam punāna uṣaso vi rocayat (SV *uṣaso arocayat*) RV SV. The RV. form is clearly preterite, cf. the parallel *abhavat* in the next pāda.

pary abhūd (RV *uṣarbhud bhūd*) *atithir jātavedāh* RV MS

indrāya suṣuvur (MS KS. *indrāyāsuṣuvur*) *madam* VS MS KS TB Cf §220. The form *asuṣuvuh*, strictly speaking pluperfect, is really nothing more than an augmented perfect, doubtless secondary to *suṣuvuh*, MS p p *indrāya suṣuvuh* — Yet more anomalous is the next

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (TA. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA Mahān U. The TA has a monstrosity, see §220.

gṛhān ajūgupatam yuvam AŚ *gṛhān* (MŚ *gṛhāñ*) *jugupatam yuvam* MS. MŚ Both versions are indicative, being contrasted with *gṛhān gopāyatam yuvam*, see Conc

§268 *Preterites with or without augment in dependent clauses.*

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG *vyuchat*) AV. TS MS KS TB. ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā adidyutat (VSK *atidyutat*) *savīmani* AV. SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The variation is really phonetic (*t· d*, surd sonant).

(*yam*) *svādhyo* (TB *svādhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jijanan* (TB *apsv ajijanan*) RV TB

anūdhā yadi jijanad (SV *yad ajijanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV SV.

yad enam dyaur ajanayat (RV *janayat*) *suretāh* RV VS. TS. MS KS ŚB ApMB Clearly the RV form is archaic, see Oldenberg, *Proleg* 306, 313

yenāpāmṛśatam (SMB v 1 °*śatam*) *surām* ŚŚ SMB . *yenāvamṛśatām surām* PG In a series of preterite formulas. PG. comm explains the lack of augment as Vedic license

yame iva yatamāne yad ailam (TA *etam*, but Poona ed *aitam*) RV AV AB KB TA AŚ 'When like two twins in step ye went' Probably no real variant

Interchanges concerning reduplication

§269 Many of these concern the quantity of the reduplicating vowel, and belong to the class of Rhythmic Changes in Quantity (cf. §§259–261),

they belong really to the section on Phonetics   Obscuration of the
original principles of the rhythmic change has resulted in great irregularity, however.

§270. In a series of formulas *pipīhi* of MS exchanges with *pīpihi* of
TA. (and ApŚ), we thus have forms presenting the aspect of a double
or compensating rhythmic shift of quantity. [It seems to me likely
that MS understands *pipīhi* as 'drink!', root *pā*, while *pīpihi* certainly
means 'swell!', root *pyā*   F. E]

subhūtāya pipīhi (TA *pīpihi*) MS TA   And so with *brahmavarcasāya,
    iṣe, ūrje, asyai viśe* (TA omits these) *mahyam jyaiṣṭhyāya, asmai*
    (TA omits) *brahmaṇe,* and *kṣatrāya*   ApŚ also has *iṣe,* and *ūrje,
    pīpihi*   See §192

§271   The next group certainly contains cases of rhythmic lengthening, sometimes with metrical bearings, but primarily phonetic in
character.

udgrābhenod ajigrabhat MS.:. . . *ajīgrabham,* and *ajīgṛbham,* KS

yiyapsyata (AŚ *yī°*) *iva te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ.

imam agne camasam mā vi jihvarah (TA.*jī°*) RV AV. TA AG

gṛhān ajūgupatam yuvam AŚ · *gṛhān* (MŚ *gṛhāñ*) *jugupatam yuram*
    MS MŚ

prajām me (ApŚ also, *no*) *naryājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ v. l *°jūgupah*)
    MS KS. ApŚ MŚ   Also

paśūn me (*nah*) *śansyājugupah* (ApŚ *°jūgupah*) MS ApŚ MŚ   And
    similar formulas in the same passage

śucanto agnim vavṛdhanta (AV *vā°*) *indram* RV. AV. KS   Whitney,
    Grammar §786a

tṛta enam (read, *trita enan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* AV . *trita etan manuṣ-
    yeṣu māmṛje* TB   The AV form is the more usual, but that of TB.
    is metrically better   See Whitney, l c

§272   There is, next, a small group showing confusion between the
reduplicating vowels *i* (characteristic of the present) and *a* (perfect),
which marks a certain blurring of the regular tense distinction between
these types.   Cf the item in the Conc · *hastagrābhasya aidhiṣos* (AV
dadhiṣos)   RV. AV TA.

pra bhānavah sisrate (SV *sasrate*) *nākam acha* RV. AV. SV VS TS MS
    Here *sasrate* is anomalous, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 281.

vṛṣāva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV.: *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV.   The
    forms *cakradat* (*°das*) are counted perfect subjunctives; Whitney,
    Grammar §810.

tāh prācya (Vait *°yah,* MŚ *°cīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ † *°ire,* Vait. *samjigāire*)

KŚ Vait. MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ. Perfect forms, *ı* is anomalous

§273 The rest are odds and ends which concern reduplication in various ways, they are mostly problematic. There are a couple of apparent perfect active participles with unreduplicated stems, one obviously due to haplology, the other perhaps corrupt.

vıśo-vıśah pravıśwānsam īmahe AV · *vıśvasyām vıśı pravıvıśwānsam* (KS †
   pravıvıśānam) *īmahe* TS. MS KS   Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§790,
   803a, and on AV. 4 23. 1

vıśām vavarjuṣīnām (AV. *vıśām avarj°*) RV. AV. See Whitney on AV
   7 50 2

Once the reduplicated *sasrjmahe* exchanges with *samsrjmahe*, the preposition *sam* replacing the reduplicating syllable *sa* ·
agne sasrjmahe (MS *samsr°*) *gırah* RV SV MS KS.

The remaining cases are not only anomalous but textually dubious
sam ıvā tatakṣuh (LŚ *tatakṣnuh*) Vait LŚ KŚ   See §231, end   We
   have little confidence in the edited text of LŚ

(*devīr dvāra ındram samghāte*) *vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB *vıdvīr
   yāman vavardhayan*) VS TB   See §218, end; read probably
   avardhayan ın TB

[*jajanad* (TB *prajanad*, but Poona ed correctly *jajanad*) *ındram ındrı-
   yāya svāhā* (MS om.) MS. TB. TA ŚŚ]

CHAPTER IX. VARIATIONS IN GRADE OR QUANTITY OF STEMS AND ALLIED MATTERS

§274. The matters included in this chapter are more or less homogeneous in that they all deal with verbal stems or bases which present, in alternative readings, both quantitatively fuller and less full forms. We have found it convenient to subdivide them as follows, without very much regard for conventional grammatical categories, but so as to bring together forms which seem to us really to belong together:

1. Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak.
2. Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including *r*-stems).
3. Strong and weak Perfect forms.
4. Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *r* (*ra, ari*), and other variants of *r*.
5. Interchanges between radical short and long *i* before *y*.
6. Other long and short *i* and *u* in radical syllables.
7. Long and short 'intermediate *i*' (in *seṭ* roots).
8. Presence or absence of intermediate *i*.
9. Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms.

1. *Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak*

§275. As compared with the almost complete rigidity of Classical Sanskrit in regard to the separation of strong and weak stems in non-thematic presents, the Vedic language shows remarkable fluidity on this point; see Bloomfield's article 'On certain irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives', *AJP* 5. 16ff. This is particularly the case in the 5th and 9th classes; and it usually manifests itself in encroachment of the strong stem on the weak. The variants, at least, show no case of the converse spread of the weak stem at the expense of the strong, whereas they repeatedly show the normal *ṛṇuta* or *puṇīhi* or the like replaced by *ṛṇo'a* or *punāhi*. In one formula, *barhi stṛṇīhi* or *stṛṇāhi*, ApŚ shows both forms. Of course the strong forms are to be regarded, at least morphologically, as secondary, and due to analogical spread from forms where the strong stem is regular. But it frequently happens that the chronology of the variants runs counter to this; that is, an older text

184

has the 'secondary' or analogical form, which is replaced by the regular form in a later text. Meter sometimes seems to have been concerned in the choice of the irregular form

nu: no

kṛṇota (AV. *kṛṇuta*) *dhūmam vṛṣaṇam* (AV. °*hah*) *sakhāyah* RV. AV.

urvī rodasī varivas (TS. KS °*vah*) *kṛṇotam* (KS. *kṛṇutam*) TS. MS KS.
>   Here KS is metrically inferior, we may guess that metrical considerations dictated the use of the analogical *kṛṇotam*

sunuta ā ca dhāvatah RV   *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV   Cf. *sunoty ā ca dhāvati* RV.   The form *sunota* is well-known in RV.

yunakta sīrā vi yugā tanudhvam (AV. TS. MS. KS. *tanota*) RV. AV. VS
>   TS MS KS ŚB.

nī: nā, and analogous forms

jātavedah punīhi (MS *punāhi*)*mā* RV. VS. MS. KS.

pavitreṇa punīhi (MS *vunāhi*) *mā* VS MS KS TB. ŚŚ

punīhāndrāya (SV. VS *punāhā*°) *pātave* RV. SV VS Vait.

asmān punīhi cakṣase AV : *mām punīhi* (MS *punāhi*) *viśvatah* RV. VS.
>   MS. KS.

barhi (MS. MŚ *barhih*) *stṛṇīhi* (TS MS [text *stṛṇātu!*] MŚ. A₂Ś.
>   [once] *stṛṇāhi*) TS MS. GB. ŚB Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. (quater) MŚ

sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛṇāhi (PG. *pṛnīhi;* KS. *tad gṛnīhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ.
>   PG. HG.

vivasvadvāte abhi no gṛṇīhi (TS. *gṛnāhi*) TS. MS KS AŚ.

etam jānātha (KS *jānīta*, TB *jānītāt*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS ŚB. TB.

>   In one case the root *hā*, whose present inflection is analogous to that of the 9th class (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* 661a), presents a similar variation.

atrā jahāma (AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV. *aśivāh*, and *asan durevāh*)
>   RV. AV. (bis) TA . *atra* (ŚB *atrā*) *jahīmo 'śivā ye asan* VS ŚB

2 *Strong and weak Aorist stems* (*not including r-stems*)

§276. Owing to the considerable mix-up between the various aorist systems, there is sporadic interchange between their stem-grades, a stem-grade appropriate to one formation is analogically transferred to another. In some cases there is doubt as to which aorist formation we are dealing with, and the variation in the form of the stem is itself often taken as evidence for the fact that different formations are concerned, it is, indeed, not infrequently the only such evidence available   See §§202 ff. for such examples   But the line between them and the class now under consideration is by no means always clear. Thus, in the first

example, it is customary to regard *bheh* and *bhaih* as respectively 1st and 4th aorists, and we have so treated them above, while *rok* and *ruk* are placed in this group as being both, apparently, root-aorists

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŚB · *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS *rauñ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS

§277 Similarly in several cases of s-aorists active, the *vṛddhi* vowel alternates with the *guna* (Whitney, *Grammar* §887a), sometimes one, sometimes the other form seems original·

abhyarakṣīd (AŚ. °*rāḷṣīd*) *āsmākam punar āgamāt* (AŚ *āyanāt*) MS AŚ *iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat* (TB.* *vākṣīt*) VS MS KS TB (both) N. See §167.

pra sakṣati pratimānam pṛthivyāh AV.: *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV. N.

ud akramīd draviṇodā vāṣy arvā VS. TS. MS KS ŚB : *ud akrāmīt* (pratīka) ApŚ.

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma* VS MS. ŚB.: *māham rā° vi yoṣam* TS KS TA. ApŚ

ihaiva stam mā vi yauṣtam (ApMB *yoṣṭam*) RV. AV. ApMB.

§278 In two cases the dissyllabic stems *grabhai* and *śarai* interchange with their reduced forms *grabhi* and *śari;* see Whitney, *Grammar* §904b, Bloomfield, *ZDMG* 48 574ff

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB °*grabhaiṣam;* PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG : *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh

indra enam (TB. ApŚ. *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB ApŚ . cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarai* AV   But for this last SPP with most mss. and Ppp reads °*śarīt*, the regular form

§279. In a similar manner the 1st singular middle forms of the s and iṣ aorists show variation between reduced vowel and guna, in four variants   These forms may also be considered precatives, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§567a, 568, 923

sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham paśubhiś ca brāhmaṇavarcasena ca ruciṣīya (MS *tvam rucyā rocasa evam aham rucyu rociṣīya*) AV. MS. The MS has the regular form, Whitney, *Grammar* §899b; cf. §907, where these forms are called precatives

vāmī te samdṛśi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS. *dhiṣ°*) MS KS : *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya* TS   The i-form is regular, Whitney, *Grammar* §879b, cf. §884

somasyāham devayajyayā suretā (MŚ *viśvani*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ *dheṣīya*) TS ApŚ MŚ. *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajyayā suretodhā reto dhiṣīya* KS

tad adya vācah prathamam masīya (N *mansīya*) RV. AŚ. ApŚ. N.   The
   N. reading is not worthy of trust, tho formally regular enough, the
   meter is against it   See Roth's note, p 28 of Erlauterungen.

For aorists in radical ṛ varying with *ra* or *ar*, see below, §281.

3. *Strong and weak Perfect forms*

§280   The root *sah* 'be strong', exhibits interchange between *a* and
ā in the radical syllable twice in the perfect, as well as once in the aorist
(see the item *pra sakṣati* or *sākṣate*, etc , under the preceding rubric).
Long *ā* appears in other forms of this root, as is well known (*sāhati,
sāhyāma, sādha, sādhvā, sādhṛ,* see Whitney's *Roots* s. v.), in some of
these (the last three, at least) 'compensatory lengthening' has operated;
possibly the other instances are analogical extensions from such forms.
bibheda valaṁ (AV AŚ *balam,* but SPP *valam* for AV) *bhṛgur na sasāhe*
   (AV. *sasahe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ
yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā,* KS † *sāsāhat*) *sadane kaṁ cid atrinam* RV. SV.
   KS

Otherwise there are only sporadic interchanges·
krūram ānanśa (KS † ApŚ *ānāśa*) *martyah* (KS.† *martah*) AV KS. ApŚ.
   Both are in reality variant 'strong' forms of the tangled root *aś,
   anś, naś.*
nirjaganvān (TS. °*jagmivān*) *tamaso jyotiṣāgāt* RV VS. TS MS. KS.
   ŚB.   Alternative perfect participles, Whitney §805a.
svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanuvam*) *piprayasva* (AV. *piprā*°) RV AV TA.
   MahānU.   Both forms are anomalous; they are classed as perfect
   imperatives.   Whitney on AV. 6. 110. 1 would read *piprayasva,*
   but we do not see that this is a particularly better form than the
   other.
ād id antā adadṛhanta pūrve KS.: *yaded antā adadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛn-
   hanta*) *pūrve* RV. VS TS. MS   Pluperfects.

4. *Interchanges between strong and weak stems in* ṛ (ra, ar), *and other variants of* ṛ

§281   Here we group a few cases, mostly aorists (and therefore be-
longing also with No. 2, §§276 ff above), in which we suspect that the
variation between strong and weak *r*-forms is more due to phonetic
change or corruption   The three cases of *gṛbh   grabh* are part of a
tendency to reduce *r* + vowel to *ṛ*, they will be treated along with simi-
lar cases outside the verbal conjugation in the chapter on Samprasārana
in our section on Phonetics   The solitary case of *jāgṛtāya* for the more

normal *jāgarιtāya* is best accounted for as due to the same tendency. In the sixth example, *bhartam bhṛtam*, we have root-aorist forms, analogous to *ruk: rok* above (§276) Somewhat similar to the variation between *r* and *ra, arι*, is that between *r* and *rι* in two variants presently to be quoted, viz *vayam rāṣtre jāgṛyāma (jāgriyāma)* etc , and *ānapṛvān (āpapṛvān)* etc., §287

agṛbhīt VSK · *agrabhīt* VS AŚ ŚŚ.

agṛbhīṣata VS   *agrabhīṣaιa* KS.

udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS *aṇgrabhat*, KS *aṅgrabham,* and *aṅgṛbham*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB

jāgarιtāya (KSA *jāgṛtāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA

śṛtas tvam śṛto 'ham ApŚ   *śrītas tvam śrīto 'ham* KS   Apparently pples. from monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms of the same base

bhartam (VS ŚB *bhṛtam*) *agnιm purīṣyam* VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Whitney, *Grammar* §831a.

5 *Interchanges between radical short and long ι before y*

§282. Before suffixal *y*, final radical *ι* appears alternatively as *ī* in a couple of variants:

sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣīyema (AV. *kṣι*°) AV. TB TA. ApŚ. The *ī* is bad metrically as well as formally.

yūpāyocchrīyamānāyānubrūhι (MŚ °*cchrιya*°) ApŚ. MŚ But most mss of MŚ read °*chrīya*°, and as this is (before the *ya* of the passive) the grammatically regular form, it should probably be read

§283 Somewhat similar to these variants, which are really phonetic in character and will be dealt with in our Phonetics section, are the two variants showing *ι* or *ī* in denominative stems (§243, *janιyantι* and *janīyante* , *putrιyantι* and *putrīyantaḥ*), and likewise, from another standpoint, the variant *vayam rāṣtre jāgryāma (jāgrιyāma)* etc , §287, where influence of the following *y* may be suspected in the form with *rι* for. *r*.

6 *Other long and short ι and u in radical syllables*

§284 A miscellaneous list, as follows

avāmba (VS ŚB. KŚ *ava*) *rudram adιmahι* (VS ŚB. KŚ *adī*°, and so v l of MS KS. MŚ, with MS p p) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ. Aorist from *dā* 'share' The meter favors *ī*.

pratι ṣma (SV *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV *rι*ṣ°, and so RV p. p) RV SV MS KS. TB.

vājmo vājajito vājam sasṛvānso (KS. *jigīvānso;* TS *sasṛvānso vājam jigivānso*) .VS TS KS ŚB   Roots *ji* and *jyā*, *ji*? Cf next.

ajitāh (TA *ajītāḥ*, ApMB and one ms of HG. *ajītā*) *syāma śaradah śatam* TA ApMB HG   Cf. prec   TA. comm paraphrases by *ajitāh*

samiṅgayaḥ (ŚB *samīñg°*) *sarvatah* RV ŚB BrhU   The true reading of BrhU is that of ŚB , *°iṅg°* is Boehtlingk's emendation

praśāstah pra suhi (KŚ *sūhi;* MŚ *suva;* ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ. MŚ.   *suhi* looks like a blend of *sūhi* and *suva*

mā hiṅsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB *ūh°*) AV. ApMB.

7. Long and short 'intermediate i'

§285. There are a few cases of unstable quantity in the *i* which may be called, broadly speaking, the Sanskrit representative of the schwa-vowel in the second syllable of dissyllabic (*set*) roots, we include here *i* and *ī* before the *s* of the aorist, since that originally belonged in this category. Among the latter, it is noteworthy that we find both instances of 3d singular forms with short *i* where it should be long, and plural or dual forms with long *ī* where it should be short. The cases are very few in number, and probably analogical in both instances.

suśami śamīṣva (TS TB *śamiṣva;* KS † *śamnīṣva*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sa idam devebhyo havih (*havyam*) *śamīṣva* (TS TB. omit) *suśami śamīṣva* (TS. TB. *śamiṣva*) VS. VSK TS KS. TB.   *devebhyo havyam śamīṣva* MS.

amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś *°gam yathālokam*) *āvṛṣāyiṣata* (AŚ *āvṛṣāyiṣata*, ŚŚ. *avīvṛṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG.   See §§201, 243

tato no mitrāvarunāv avīṣtam TB   *tena no mitrāvarunāv* (MS. *°nā*) *avistam* RV MS   *avīṣtam* doubtless analogous to *avīt*

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS. *°yid*, KSA *°yed*, MS *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhih* RV. VS TS. MS KSA.   See §174; Whitney, *Grammar* §1048, and cf. *indro vājam ajayit*, TS. 1. 7. 8 1, TB.

8. Presence or absence of 'intermediate i'

§286   The principal group under this head consists of aorist forms in -*rṣ*- or -*riṣ*-, from roots in *r*   ' Only the first two variants concern a root (*car*) which regularly forms both *s* and *iṣ* aorists; on these see §206. Otherwise the variants are apparently rather phonetic than morphological in character; they concern *svarabhakti*, on which cf. Wackernagel

1. §§49–53, they will be dealt with in our chapter on Insertion and Expulsion of Vowels, in the section of this work on Phonetics They are of two sorts Some concern roots which form aorists of the simple *s* type (Whitney's 4th aorist), in which an *ι* is alternately inserted before the *s*. The others concern roots of the *ιṣ* type (Whitney's 5th aorist), from which the *ι* is sometimes dropped by a kind of 'hyper-Sanskritism', the pronunciation *-rṣ-* seems to have been sometimes felt as dialectic and vulgar, and is occasionally 'restored' to *-rṣ-* by late texts in forms where *-rιṣ-* is the only historically correct form, as in the Kauś. reading *tārṣat* for *tārιṣat*, below. There are thus three divisions of these variations between *-rṣ-* and *-rιṣ-*·

(a) From roots which form aorists in both *s* and *ιṣ*

agne vratapate vratam acārιṣam (MS and MŚ. v 1 *acārṣam*) VS TS. MS KS † ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ HG

vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*patayo*) *vratam acārιṣam* (MS *acārṣam*) MS TA Kauś

(b) From roots regularly forming only *s* aorist

dakṣam te bhadram ābhārṣam RV *dakṣam ta ugram ābhārιṣam* AV Most mss of AV agree on *ābhārιṣam*, tho the comm reads *ābhār-ṣam*, which the meter supports No *ιṣ* aorist of *bhṛ* is recorded

diteh putrānām aditer akārṣam (MS *akārιṣam*) AV MS The verse is otherwise *jagatī*, so that probably *akārιṣam* is to be read in AV with many mss and SPP , Ppp , however, has *akārṣam*, and if *akārιṣam* is the true reading it is a matter of phonetics rather than morphology, no 5th aorist from *kṛ* is recorded

yad rātrιyā (MahānU and v 1 of TA °*trιyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v 1 *akārιṣam*, not recorded in Poona ed) TA MahānU Cf. prec. The meter supports the regular form *akārṣam*

tan nah parṣad (MS *parιṣad*) *ati dvιṣah* TS MS KS TB (Read *parιṣad* twice in MS , m 2 7 12c von Schroeder reads *parṣad* against all his *samhιtā* mss Acc. to his note 1 c KapS also has *parιṣad*) The form *parιṣad* is metrically inferior and formally unprecedented (RV has *pārιṣat*)

(c) From roots regularly forming only *ιṣ* aorist

pra na (SV. MS PB *na*) *āyūnṣι tārιṣat* (Kauś *tārṣat*) RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ Kauś N The isolated form of Kauś (all mss) can only be an ignorant attempt to 'correct' the supposedly dialectic pronunciation with *ι* This is shown not only by the meter, but by the fact that a 4th aorist from

the dissyllabic root *ṭṛ* is monstrous and unheard of. Cf. Wacker-nagel, 1 §53c. end.

āchettā te (TB. ApŚ *io) *mā rışam* (KS *rışat; MS. mārşam*) TS MS. KS TB ApŚ MŚ In MŚ also *mārşam* should be read, with all Knauer's mss. But the form is monstrous. Strictly speaking it is a 2d (thematic) aorist, from the root *riş*, the *s* as well as the *i* being radical But it belongs here as being an instance of hyper-Sanskritic pronunciation or *rş* for *rış*.

§287. There remain only a few cases, more or less dubious in character, which present the aspect of. alternative loss or insertion of an 'inter-mediate *i*' in other cases than when preceded by *r* and followed by *ş*:

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśivān*) *voce* RV SV. N Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §803a. *dāśvāṅs* is frequently trisyllabic in RV.; Grassmann and Oldenberg assume that the *v* is vocalic. The SV. here presents a secondary attempt to improve the meter

āpaprivān (MS. *°prvān*, but p p *°privān*) *rodasī antarıkşam* RV VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. These may be regarded as from by-forms of the same root, *āpaprivān* is connected with *prā*, while the dubious nonce-form of MS , if correct, harks back to *pr*, which has no perfect active The variation, if real, resembles the cases of Samprasāraṇa men-tioned §281.

vayaṁ rāştre jāgryāma (KS MS *°mā;* TS and p p of MS *jāgriyāma*) *purohitāh* VS VSK. TS MS KS The regular form of the opt. of *jāgr* is *jāgryāma* This recalls not only the Samprasāraṇa vari-ants, like the preceding item, but also (since the following sound *y* may be suspected of being concerned in the insertion of the vowel *i*) the variants mentioned under 5, §§282f

[*utkraṅsyate* (KSA *utkramişyate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA So Conc , but the sole ms. of KSA reads *utkrāmyate*, which von Schroeder properly emends to *utkraṅsyate*]

9 *Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms*

§288 Three cases which fall in nowhere else ·

madhi ā yajñam nakşati (VS TS *nakşase*) *prīnānah* (AV. *prai°*) AV VS. TS MS. KS Ppp has *prīnānah* with the rest.

agne yat te tejas tena tam atejasam krnu (KS *tam prati tityagdhi*, MS ApŚ. *tam prati titigdhi*). .AV. MS KS ApŚ. The strange *tityagdhi* of KS 6 9 (p 59, l 20) is supported by the present *prati-tyakti*, KS 7. 6 (p 68, l. 11) It is an adventurous formation, on

the pattern, say, of *vidh vyadh*, possibly, however, a thought of
the root *tyaj* may have helped to form it

añjapata (TS TB. *ajñpata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS KS TB MŚ. Re-
duplicated (causative) aorists from the root *ji* 'conquer'; both, but
especially *añjapata*, are highly anomalous.

Cf. also the variant causative stems listed §242, and denominatives,
§243.

CHAPTER X. PERSON AND NUMBER

Introductory remarks

§289. The very numerous variations in person and number of verb forms are superficially quite different in character from the other verbal variants. Yet fundamentally they resemble them more than appears at first sight. Like the rest, broadly speaking, they mark and illustrate temperamental fluidity, or shifts in psychological attitude. Thus, to begin with, an activity to be performed or a result to be obtained by the ritual action of a priest or sacrificer may be expressed by a verb in either first, second, or third person, and either singular or plural number For many variants alternatively conceive the result accomplished, or the action performed, either by the priest or sacrificer (who may be identified with the speaker, the verb being in the first person, or addressed in the second person as being an associate of the speaker), or by some natural or supernatural potency, agency, or implement, in which power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which may be addressed in the second person or spoken of in the third   For instance, as the priest cleans various sacrificial implements, he says, addressing the implement. 'do not wipe off (from me) speech or cattle!', *rācam paśūn mā nir mārjīh* MS. MS.   But other texts, in precisely similar contexts, say· 'may it not wipe off', or 'may I not (by this action) wipe off', etc *rūpād rarnaṁ mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ : *vācaṁ prānaṁ   mā nir mrkṣam* TS *rūpaṁ rarnam paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ   The real meaning is essentially identical in all   A very considerable proportion of the variations between first person verbs, on the one hand, and second or third (or both) on the other, belong to this category in which the matter is credited now to the medicine-man or priest himself, now to an agency or potency, whether human, divine, or merely instrumental, which is associated with him and thru which he operates   See §§302, 304, 312

§290. As between first and second person, another important group contains variations in which the subject of the verb is really the same in either case, namely the priest or priests and his or their associates, who may be spoken of indifferently in the first or second person   See §307. Thus, in *mitrāya* (*satyāya*) *havyaṁ ghṛtaraj juhota* (°*vad vidhema*), 'to Mitra (the true one) offer ye (let us offer) oblation with ghee', it makes not the slightest real difference whether the persons who are to offer

oblation are called 'we' or 'ye', both forms of the pāda occur in precisely
the same stanza   Moreover, either or both of the verbs may in such
cases be either singular or plural 'I' or 'we', 'thou' or 'ye' Indeed,
nearly all variations between first person singular and first person plural
are cases of precisely this sort, see the long list in §345, of which the fol-
lowing may serve as an example *yad dhastābhyām cakara* (AV *cakṛma*)
kilbiṣāni AV MS TB TA , 'if I (we) have committed sins with the two
hands ' In such cases it is often impossible to say whether the plural
expression really thinks of a group of individuals of whom the speaker
is one, or whether it is 'editorial', referring really to none but the speaker
himself. In many cases, undoubtedly, the latter is true, nor is it at
all necessary to suppose then that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is im-
plied in the plural form, altho such may occasionally be the case   See
§344 for a few instances where first plural verbs are certainly used re-
ferring to the single speaker alone, e g *śatam jīvema* (PG *ca jīvāmi*)
śaradah purūcīh PG MG , which is spoken by the graduate brahman-
pupil   may we (which means 'I', as in PG) live a hundred numerous
autumns!' Even MG has first singular verbs in the rest of the stanza
where this pāda occurs —For a few similar cases of second person singu-
lar and plural, referring to associates of the priestly speaker, see §347,
and for mixed cases (first singular and second plural, or vice versa) see
§307, end, e g *tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (*juhomi*), 'to him, Indra,
offer ye (I offer) the pressed drink '

§291 Another class of variations, involving both person and number,
consists of generalizing statements, in which the subject is really in-
definite, 'people' in general, 'one' (French *on*, German *man*)   Such
expressions are usually third person, most commonly plural, but
sometimes also singular, as in *brahmajāyeyam iti* (AV *°jāyeti*) *ced
avocan* (AV *°cat*) RV AV , 'if they (indefinite) have (one has) said,
she is a brahman's wife' See §359 for others of this type Such
generalizing third persons also vary with 1st or 2d person forms, which
are sometimes definite (as are some of the third person singulars which
vary with indefinite third plurals), but sometimes also indefinite   Thus
we have a 1st plural indefinite varying with a 3d plural, also indefinite,
in *yathā kalām yathā śapham yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV *yatharnam
samnayanti*), *evā duṣvapnyam sarvam āptye* (AV *apriye*, or *dviṣate*)
samnayāmasi RV AV (bis), 'as we (= people in general, or, they) load
up   a debt, so all the bad-dreaming we load up on (Trita) Āptya (or,
the enemy) ' And even a singular form, 1st person as well as third, may
be used in this indefinite sense *tam tvā bhaga sarva ij johavīmi* (RV VS

°*ti*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB., 'on thee, Bhaga, every one calls lustily', or, 'on thee, Bhaga, do every I call'. Whitney on AV. 3. 16. 5 renders mechanically 'do I call, entire', but obviously it can only mean 'do I and every one like me call', or the like; the surrounding pādas have 1st person verbs, and have influenced this The TB. comm glosses *johavīmi* by *āhvayati*, which is by no means as foolish as it might seem at first sight, indeed, it may be called rather exceptionally acute —On the other hand it is commoner for definite 1st or 2d person forms to exchange with indefinite 3d persons, whether singular or (more often) plural, as in *vacānsy āsā* (SV *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuh*) RV SV , 'I (they = people in general) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (for this mighty one) ' Or, 2d person *yenendrāya samabharah* (MS KS °*ran*) *payānsi* AV TS MS KS , 'by which thou (= Agni) didst (or, they, indefinite, did) collect milk for Indra ' See §§314, 360

§292 Among the variations concerning Person, interchanges between 1st and 2d person are relatively rare, those between 1st and 3d are somewhat commoner, but by far the most numerous are those between 2d and 3d The great majority of these last do not present any very startling features Most commonly they simply concern shifts from direct address to a person or thing to indirect reference, in contexts where both are equally suitable See §§327 ff Not infrequently an entire stanza, containing several clauses, and several verb-forms, is remodelled in this way, so that we have a series of 2d person verbs varying with a series of 3d persons, as in.

navo-navo bhavati (AV JUB °*si*) *jāyamānah, ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV † *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās tirate* (TS °*ti*, AV † °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV AV TS MS KS N , first pāda also TB AŚ HG BDh JUB. VHDh , 'Ever new he becomes (thou becomest) born, as banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at the head of the dawns, arriving he shares (thou sharest) out fortune to the gods, the moon lengthens (thou, O moon, lengthenest) out long life '

§293 It will be noted that, consistently with the verbs, the subject here shifts from nominative to vocative when 2d person replaces 3d, and that the change is made with all verbs in the stanza In the majority of cases the syntax is thus consistent in both 2d and 3d person passages There remain, however, a good many passages where the change results in more or less inconsistency Not seldom we find a third person verb with vocative subject This occurs three times in the same stanza in the PG version of the following·

yena striyam (PG *śriyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG *°tām*, ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśatam* (PG. *°vamṛśatām*) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ *°kṣām*, PG *°kṣyāv*) *abhyasiñcatam* (PG *°tām*), *yad vām tad aśvinā yaśah* ŚŚ PG SMB
Here the direct address to the Aśvins (note the 2d person pronoun *vām*, showing that *aśvinā* can only be vocative) in the fourth pāda makes the 3d person verbs unconstruable by strict syntax   Naturally there is a temptation to emend in such cases   But the thrice repeated 3d person forms of PG seem to prove that such a temptation should not be yielded to lightly   Stenzler quite properly keeps the 3d persons in his text of PG , altho he translates them as if they were 2d persons   The comm supplies *bhavantau* as subject. Harsh as the construction seems to us, it was clearly the reading intended, and it is supported by many similar cases, listed §332   In the same pages we find also cases of the converse condition, namely, 2d person verbs with nominative subjects, as in

   tā enam pravidvānsau śrapayatam MS   *tāv imam paśum śrapayatām pravidvānsau* TB
Here only the TB is syntactically consistent; not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects of *śrapayatam* in the preceding, are nominative in MS

   §294 A milder form of inconsistency is found in the long list of passages found §333ff , where we find no internal inconsistency of the type just mentioned, as between subject and verb within the same clause, but rather a shift from direct address to third-person reference (or vice versa) in parallel and adjoining passages   This produces an effect of more or less harshness   It is not always, to our feeling, so intolerable as it seems in the SV reading of the following

   yat sānoh sānum āruhat (SV *sānv āruhah*) RV SV
This is followed by the pāda *bhūry aspaṣṭa karivam*   'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor '   The SV appears to say, 'When thou (Indra) didst mount from peak to peak and he (Indra) beheld much labor', unless, indeed, we may suppose that SV understands *āruhah* as an anomalous verbal noun or adjective, depending on the subject of *aspaṣṭa* ('when, mounting etc , he beheld etc ')
But the occurrence of very many other cases where the parallelism is broken almost or quite as harshly justifies us in supposing that the shift in person was not too much for SV to tolerate

   §295 Attention may be called here to a curious detail which crops out among the variants between 2d and 3d person. When the SV repeats a RV mantra containing a verb of which the subject is Soma, it shows a marked tendency to replace a third-person indirect reference

by a second-person direct address to Soma   For example, this occurs in
each of the four pādas of the following stanza, the subject being appro-
priately made vocative instead of the nominative of the RV.:

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV. °*si*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu ga-
chati* (SV °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV °*se mahad dhan-
am*), *svāyudhah sotṛbhih pūyate vṛṣā* (SV °*bhih soma sūyase*) RV. SV.
And so in practically every case found among the Variants as between
RV and SV in which the subject of the verb is Soma   In seven other
cases besides the stanza just quoted the accompanying text is syntacti-
cally consistent in both cases, these are listed §328.   But in another half-
dozen cases, listed §334, the second-person forms of SV. are more or
less inconsistent with the context, which presents parallel third-person
verbs even in SV   The reverse change of 2d to 3d person in verbs of
which Soma is the subject is extremely rare in SV., and due to special
reasons, see §335

§296 Among the variants concerning number, perhaps the most
interesting are those in which a verb with singular subject is made dual
or plural by a simple process of multiplication of the subject, or by in-
clusion within the subject of another entity or entities, or vice versa in
either case.   The instances of the first type are grouped in §348 ff   They
call for no comment, the following will serve as an example:

sundhantām lokāh pitṛṣadanāh VS MS KS ŚB MŚ · *sundhatām
lokah pitṛṣadanah* TS ApŚ , 'let the worlds (or, world) where the fathers
sit be purified '

For the second type see §§353 ff , the cases are somewhat less numer-
ous, but still common enough, for example

āsīdantu (SV *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV.
SV VS TB

Followed by: *prātaryāvāno adhvaram*   The real subject in RV is the
gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples, Sāyana, *yo mitro
devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah   devāh* etc.   The plural is
here the original form, and the alteration is a case of subtraction or
division rather than addition or multiplication of the subject.   Both SV.
and TB were troubled by the seeming disagreement between verb and
subject (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the construc-
tion, SV by making the verb singular, agreeing with the nearer sub-
ject, *mitro,* and TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing three sub-
jects instead of two for the plural verb, in defiance of the meter.

§297 Of great interest, tho of equally great rarity, are the cases
(§358) in which a grammatically plural or dual subject (either a *plurale*

tantum, or more than one noun felt as constituting a single unit) is alter-
natively construed with a singular verb, because the subject is thought
of collectively as a unit:

drupadād ua muñcatām (TB °*tu*, so read with Poona ed) AV. TB
The subject is found in the preceding pāda, *bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam
ca*, 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a
post ' It would me mechanical and false to explain the singular verb of
TB as agreeing with the nearer subject *bhavyam*, as under the type men-
tioned last   Rather, the two subjects are felt in TB as forming a
single unitary concept

§298 There remain, finally, a rather considerable number of shifts in
either person or number, or both, which are due to real syntactic recon-
structions of the passage involving change of subject   Either the
mantra may be applied in a different connexion, with a different sub-
ject for the verb, or the context may remain the same, but owing to an
internal reconstruction the subject may be different and may require a
different person or number   The following examples may serve to
illustrate these two types, as between second and third person, and be-
tween the various numbers, they are hardly capable of further subdivi-
sion, and will be found grouped in §§338-41, 361-71. Most of the vari-
ants between first and second person, and between first and third, natur-
ally involve change of subject in so far as they include recognizable
groupings, attention has already been called to them.

§299. First, cases in which the formula appears in different contexts
The first example is a pāda occurring in the RV. itself in no less than
four different stanzas, three of which are repeated in other texts, in
three of the four the verb is second person, the varying subject being
directly addressed in each; while in the fourth the subject is referred to
indirectly and the verb is therefore third person   The anomalous form
(*bhūtu*) of this last version shows that it is a secondary adaptation of one
of the others·

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV AV. SV. VS TS
MS KS · *asmākam bodhy av° ra° RV . as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV. MS
TB TA MahānU.· *as° bhūtv av° ta° RV AV. TA.*; 'be thou (let him be)
aider of our chariots (our persons)'

Or, a case in which all three numbers, as well as second and third
persons, appear, each form being appropriate to its special context·

sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV., 'he presses and adds water'; *sunuta ā ca
dhāvatah* RV , 'they two press and add water', *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV.
'press ye (plural) and add water'

§300 Secondly, cases in which the context is essentially the same, but an internal reconstruction furnishes the verb with a different subject, requiring different person or number or both

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU SMB , 'the day has brought us across': *ahar mātyapīparah* AV , 'thou (O sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann) enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ , 'let him drink the soma, let it exhilarate him at the sacrifice (or, the sacrifices exhilarated him) '

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛnethām (MS MŚ *pṛna*, LŚ *prīnāthām*) TS. MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ 'O heaven and earth, be filled (gratified) with ghee', or, 'fill (O post) heaven and earth with ghee '

niṣkam iva prati muñcata (°*tām*) AV. (both) 'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or 'let him fasten on himself like a necklace.' Here, and not infrequently, a change of voice goes with the change of person and number; see §30 Somewhat similarly, but without a change of voice, the verb is used in a different meaning in the following:

indram samatsu bhūṣata SV · *indrah samatsu bhūṣatu* RV AV Preceded by. *ā no viśvāsu havyah* (SV. °*yam*). 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV , praise ye Indra), (Indra) who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict '

§301. After these preliminary remarks, we now proceed to list the variants concerning Person and Number As usual thruout this work, we have followed the lines of practical convenience in classifying them, without being too much bound by formal and external schemes Thus, in the case of the Person variants, we have found it practicable to divide them first into the four natural groups of those which show (1) all three persons, (2) first and second persons, (3) first and third, and (4) second and third Cross-references from one group to another will enable the reader to bring together such subdivisions of each group as belong together But as regards the Number variants, such a primary division has seemed to us inadvisable, and our first division has been psychological rather than formal We begin with variations between first and second persons singular and plural as referring to the priests and their associates Next come cases in which the same subject appears as singular, dual, or plural, with accompanying change in number of the verb, and, following this, those in which a more inclusive subject varies with a less inclusive one (§296). After this we place the very few variations in which a singular verb goes with a subject felt as collective, tho formally dual or plural, and next the cases of generalizing plural and singular. Then come the variations in number due to change of subject

within the same context, then those due to change of subject involved
in a change of context, and finally a few cases which seem to involve
errors and corruptions with which little or nothing can be done   Within
each of these groups, however, we have separated the variants which
occur into the natural formal subdivisions of singular and plural, dual
and each of the other numbers, and variations of all three numbers
Occasionally, and in so far as it seems desirable, we have also recognized
accompanying changes of person in our subdivisions

A VARIANTS CONCERNING PERSON

1 *Variants between all three Persons*

§302. (a) Most of these are of the sort mentioned in §289 above
Namely, they concern cases in which a result is conceived as accom-
plished either by the priest or sacrificer (first person), or alternatively by
some god, potency, agency, or implement, in which magic power resides
or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which is either addressed (in
second person), or merely referred to (in third person)   The consider-
able number of such variants, swelled by a still larger number in which
only first and second persons appear (§304), or only first and third
(§312), illustrates very interestingly this aspect of Vedic sacrificial
psychology Thus·

tveṣam vaco apāvadhīt (TS TB °*dhīm*, MS °*dhīh*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB TB   Preceded in all by. *yā te agne 'yāśayā* ('*yahśayā*)
tanūr 'That   form of thine, O Agni   has driven away harsh
words', or, '   (by it) I have driven away' or 'thou hast driven away'
etc   Also· *ugram vaco* etc , see Conc.

Here the real agency is the same in either case, the practitioner oper-
ates thru an implement or a force which he controls, and it makes no
difference whether the activity is attributed to the one or the other
Similarly

vācam paśūn mā nir mārjīh MS MŚ   *vācam prānam   mā nir mṛkṣam*
TS   *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ   *rūpam varnam paśūnām mā*
nirmṛkṣam ApŚ   And other similar formulas in the same context
[*tam mā hiranyavarcasam* (RVKh *tena mām sūryatvacam*)] *karotu*
(RVKh *akaram*) *pūruṣu priyam* (ApMB *pūruṣu priyam kuru*)
ApMB. HG RVKh '(O name,) make me here of golden luster,
beloved among the Pūrus!' or, 'let it (the name) make me' etc , or,
'by it (the name) I have made myself sun-colored' etc
evam garbham dadhāmi (ApMB °*tu*) *te* ŚB BrhU ŚG ApMB HG

and (in different but related context) *evam tam* (ApMB *tvam*) *gar-bham ādhehi* (ApMB *ādhatsva*) RVKh ApMB MG., *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV 'Thus I fix (let him fix) the germ for thee', or, 'fix thou this germ.' In the second version of ApMB , but only there, the woman is addressed· 'Receive thou the germ!' Note the middle voice, and see §30. In all the others the subject is either the practitioner (1st person) or some divine or magical potency (addressed in RVKh MG , referred to in 3d person in the first version of ApMB.)

mā devānām mithuyā-karma (TS *mithuyā kar*, MS *yūyupāma*, AŚ *momuhad*, AVPpp *yūyavad*, for *mi° karma*) *bhāgam* (AVPpp. TS. MS AŚ *bhāgadheyam*) AV AVPpp TS MS TB. AŚ. So to be read, see Whitney on AV 4 39 9 'May we (he, mayst thou) not cheat the share of the gods' or the like TS *kur* is 2d person, with subject Agni who is addressed in the preceding pāda Agni is also the subject of the 3d person forms of AVPpp AŚ , which have 3d person references to him in the preceding pāda.

pari nah pāhi (also *pātu*, and *pari mā pāhi*) *viśvatah* AV (all) *pari tvā pāmi sarvatah* RVKh. 'Protect us (me, let him protect us, I protect thee) on all sides ' In several different contexts

brahma tena punīhi nah (LŚ *mā*, KS VS *punātu mā*, MS. TB *punī-mahe*) RV VS MS KS TB. LŚ · *idam brahma punīmahe* TB : 'The charm (O Agni, that is in thy light), by that purify us (me; may we be purified) ' The first person is here due to shift to middle (passive) value, see §30. The subject of the 3d person in VS KS. can only be Agni, tho the vocative remains in these texts, VS comm *bhavān punātu* Cf §332

§303   (b) The rest are of different sorts, and can hardly be classified except as *vikāras* of one another adapted to different situations, the real, as well as the grammatical, subject is generally different, and to a large extent the formulas are used in different contexts At most two of the three persons may refer to the same subject, as in the 1st and 2d person forms of the following, where the same individual speaks in one form of the variant and is addressed in the other (cf §308)

śatam jīvantu (AV * °tah, TB * ApŚ * MG. *jīvema*, AV.* SMB PG * ApMB * HG. *ca jīva*, PG * *ca jīvāmi*) *śaradah purūcīh* (*suvarcāh*) RV AV. VS ŚB. TB TA ApŚ SMB. PG. ApMB HG. MG. Somewhat complicated are the variations of this oft-repeated pāda, occurring in several texts more than once It occurs in three stanzas, at least, which may be considered quite distinct from one

another   In one all texts read *jīvantu* and *purūcīh* except AV
which has the correlative participle *jīvantah*. A second, reading
jīvema and *purūcīh*, is found only in TB. ApŚ   The remaining
occurrences seem all to concern variant forms of what is essentially
the same stanza, sometimes two forms of it occurring in juxtaposi-
tion in the same text (as in ApMB 2 2 7 and 8)   It is used vari-
ously, at the marriage ceremony, at the *upanayana*, at the cere-
mony marking the close of studentship, and the verb is always 2d
person (addressed to the bride or to the *brahmacārin*) except in PG
2 6 20 and MG 1. 9 27, where it is put into the mouth of the
brahmacārin, see §308

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ
  nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema AV   Same context   In all but
  AV the subject is *devāh* in the preceding (voc in MŚ, nom in
  TS TB ApŚ, see §329)   In AV it is replaced by *devaih*, the
  subject being 'we' 'let (the gods) revel (O gods, revel ye) here in
  the highest heaven', or 'may we revel together (with the gods)
  with food on the back of heaven'

viśvam āyur vy aśnavat RV TS MS TB Kauś   *aśnavai* (AV °*vam*)
  AV. VS MS KS TB   *aśnutah* RV   *aśnutam* (AV * °*tām*)
  RV. AV. ApMB   In several different contexts, which account
  fully for the variations of both person and number

suprajāh prajayā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*) . VSK TS ApŚ HG
  ApMB . *suprajāh prajābhi*(*h*) *syām* (VS ŚB also *syāma*)   VS
  VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ   *supoṣah poṣais*   *suprajāh prajayā syām* JB
  supoṣah poṣaih syāt . MS KS TB MŚ   In several different
  contexts

yad vo 'śuddhāh (VSK. °*ah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK *jaghānaitad*) *idam vas*
  tac chundhāmi VS VSK ŚB . *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad vo*
  etena śundhantām KS . *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS
  See §30

mitrasya mā cakṣuṣā sarvāni bhūtāni samīkṣantām, mitrasyāham cak-
  ṣuṣā . samīkṣe, mitrasya cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe VS (all, in same
  passage, the subject of *samīkṣāmahe* is reciprocal and includes *sar-*
  vāni bhūtāni) *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe*, and *samīkṣadh-*
  vam MS (in same passage)   And others, see Conc under *mitrasya*
  vaś, mitrasya tvā

tena tvāyuṣāyuṣmantam karomi TS PG ApMB   *tasyāyam* (and, *teṣām*
  ayam) *āyuṣāyuṣmān astu asau* KS   *tenāyuṣāyuṣmān edhi* MS

2. *Variants between First and Second Person*

§304. (a) We find under this head, first, a considerable group of the type described above in §§289, 302, in which the action or result is conceived as brought about sometimes by the priest or sacrificer (first person), sometimes by a divine or natural or supernatural agency or implement, which is addressed in the second person Thus:

ṛtenāsya nivartaye (MŚ. °*ya*), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ. °*ya*) TB ApŚ. MŚ. 'By his divine order do I (thou, addressing the razor) return, by his truth do I (thou) move about' Spoken in the shaving ceremony, while wielding the razor

The potency addrest or referred to is not always clearly indicated; we have seen this illustrated in some of the similar variants of all three persons, and shall find the same in not a few of the following ones, as for instance in this

(*pari*) *mahe kṣatrāya* (also: *śrotrāya*) *dhattana* AV : (*pari*) *mahe rāṣṭrāya* (also *śrotrāya*) *dadhmasi* HG 'Wrap ye (we wrap) [him] unto great kingship' or the like In AV. apparently addrest to undefined gods

vi mimīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV : *vi mime tvā payasvatīṁ devānām* TB ApŚ 'Measure thou (Rohita seems to be addrest) the milk-rich, ghee-full (cow)', or 'I measure thee out, the milk-rich (cow) of the gods.'

payo divy antarikṣe payo dhāh (TS. *dhām*) VS TS. MS KS. 'Milk do thou place (sc for me, acc to VS. comm Agni is addrest) in the sky, in the air', or, 'may I place' etc

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (TS KS. TB. '*yāt*) VS. TS KS ŚB. TB · .'*yāsiṣam* VS ŚB LŚ · *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS. 'I have (thou—[O bath]—hast) removed by sacrifice the god-wrought sin by the gods' Similarly (but in different context): *ava devānām yaja hedo agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ : *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ 'remove thou (I remove) by sacrifice the anger of the gods, O Agni', or the like.

vācam te mā hinsiṣam KS *vācam asya mā hinsīh* MS And so with *cakṣuh, caritrān, śrotram*, and others At the slaughtering of an animal 'may I not harm thy voice etc', or 'harm not his voice etc', addressing the animal, or the instrument of slaughter.

garbhān (sc *prīnāmi*) Vait : *garbhān prīnīhi* ApŚ 'I gratify (, or, gratify thou—addrest to the spoon or the remnants eaten from it) the embryos'

ata bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ *°tā*) MS ApŚ . *ava bādhasva pṛtanāyatah* PG

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūrye agre śukro agre tāh prahinomi (ApŚ. *°hinvo*) . MS ApŚ 'These I send forth', or 'these send thou forth' (addressed to the sun? see Caland on ApŚ. ʹ0 12 4)

apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanā (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Drive away (I would drive away) Araru' etc

śucim te (SV *ca*) *varṇam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV *dhāraya*) RV SV In SV. addressed to Soma, who is addressed in the preceding in RV. also

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB . *sarvāns tān maṣmaṣā* (MS † *niṣmṛsā*) *kuru* MS KS † TA *sarvān ni maṣmaṣū-karam* AV 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like

manasaspata imam deva yajñam (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS KS ŚB . *manasaspata imam no divi deveṣu yajñam, svāhā divi svāhā pṛth vyām svāhāntarikṣe svāhā vāte dhām svāhā* AV *manasaspata ꞏmam no deva deveṣu yajñam svāhā vāci svāhā vāte dhāh* TS. *manasaspate sudhātv imam yajñam divi deveṣu vāte dhāh svāhā* MS The AV version is harsher, the voc *manasaspate* requires a 2d person verb, which has to be supplied in AV

stotāram id dīdhiṣeya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radūvaso* RV SV. Similar to prec , here SV. has a lectio facilior.

With change of number as well as person ·

ra tvā (KŚ *mā*) *muñcāmi* (RV.* *pra no muñcatam*) *varuṇasya pāśāt* RV (both) AV AŚ KŚ AG ApMB Dual addressed to Soma-Rudra

am (TS KS add *vah*) *suprītam subhṛtam akarma* (KS *abhārṣam*, VS *°tam bibhṛta*) VS TS KS 'This (embryo) we (I) have made pleasant, well-maintained for you', or 'maintain ye' etc

nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS. *nudasva*) AV MS *niṣ kravyādam sedha* VS TS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ In AV , 'we drive out the flesh-eating (fire)', in YV addressed to Agni Different contexts

bharatam uddharem anuṣiñca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti?* doubtful text) TB ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the cake (*purodāśa*) at the *darśapūrnamāsa* TB comm understands *uddhara īm* (= *imam*), and Caland on ApŚ follows him, *bharatam* means the *yajamāna* according to comm , according to Caland possibly Agni Both variants are doubtful

tayā mā samisṛjāmasi HG ApMB *tayā mām indra sam sṛja* RVKh 'With it (*lakṣmī*) we unite me', or 'with it unite me, O Indra '

tābhır ā vartayā punah TS. ApMB : *tābhya enā nı vartaya* RV † : *tābhyas*
　　tvā vartayāması KS. 'By (from) them brıng them (we brıng thee)
　　back '

§305.　Sometımes the change between first and second person accom-
panıes, and ıs condıtıoned by, a change between actıve and mıddle or
passıve voıce, or between causatıve and prımary verb-forms　These
wıll be found easıly from the lısts recorded above ın §§30, 83ff , 238f ;
ıt ıs hardly necessary to repeat them here, as examples we may quote
agne dakṣaıh punīhı nah (TB　*mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS　TB　'O
　　Agnı, purıfy us (me; may be become pure) by thy power"
samjīvā (AŚ * ApŚ °*vıkā*) *nāma stha tā ımam* (AŚ　*ımam amum*) *samjīva-*
　　yata MS. AŚ　ApŚ ·　*samjīvā stha samjīvyāsam* AV　'Ye are enlıven-
　　ıng (by name), do ye make thıs man lıve', or 'may I lıve'

§306.　In some other cases we find essentıally the same psychology,
but wıth a slıghtly dıfferent turn ın formal expressıon; as when a phrase
of MS ,
　　bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta, 'be ye more, who have made
us more',
ıs (as ıt were) glossed by the varıant of Kauś ,
　　bhūyānso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣta, 'may we be more, and
lıkewıse ye who have made us more '　(Also the same texts wıth *an-*
nādā bhūyāsta etc.)
The real poınt ıs, 'may we be more!' ın both cases alıke; but thıs is
definıtely stated ın only one form of the varıant, whıle in the other
(MS) the desıred result ıs nomınally wıshed upon the agency used.
Cf. wıth 1st and 3d persons, §313 below.　Sımılarly ın the next subject
and ındırect object exchange places, wıthout real dıfference of meanıng.
trīny āyūnṣı te 'karam (JUB　°*ṣı me 'kṛnoh*) AV. JUB.　Addressed to an
　　amulet　'Three lıves have I made for thee', or '　.　hast thou
　　made for me', the last ıs, of course, the real ıntentıon even ın AV
ādıtya nāvam ārukṣah (SMB　*āroksam*) AV　SMB .　*ımām su nāvam*
　　āruham TS　KS　ApŚ　*sūrya nāvam āruksah* AV .　*sunāvam āru-*
　　heyam VS　'O Sun, I have mounted (may I mount, mount thou)
　　faırly upon a shıp', or the lıke
The ısolated AV　readıng (even Ppp　has 1st person forms both tımes)
ıs curıous, and can hardly mean anythıng fundamentally dıfferent from
the others, ıt ıs explaıned by the other varıants ın thıs sectıon.　The
comm　on AV. optıonally allows the 2d person to be ınterpreted as 1st
person (!)
sannān māvagām (ApŚ °*gāta*) MS　ApŚ　MŚ　'May I not go (go ye
　　not) to those that are sunk.'　Addressed to the sacrıficıal posts.

sūryasya caḳṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ MŚ
'I have mounted (mount thou) the eye of the sun.'

payasvān (°*vān*) *agna āgamam* (RV. *āgahi*) RV. AV VS. TS MS KS.
JB. ŚB. TB LŚ. ApMB. 'With milk, O Agni, I have come (come
thou).' The context is the same, and the 'milk' is in either case
for the benefit of the speaker

deva traṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *ranva*, KS. *rana*, MS *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB.

svargāṅ (AŚ corruptly *svagāṅ*, Vait. *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (Vait
jayema; AŚ. *jayatah* [!]) SV AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait 'Conquer ye, swift
(steeds, *rājino*, pāda a) heaven!' or 'may we swiftly conquer heaven!''
Vait. is obviously secondary but probably gives the real sense of
the other, original reading. On AŚ. see §250. In AŚ follows an
alternative form of the pāda, *svargāṅ arvato jayati*, which the comm.
says is designed to indicate that either *arvanto* or *arvato* may be read;
he does not notice the difference in the last word In fact, *joyati*
and (dual) *jayatah* are equally unconstruable.

§307. (b) We come next to a quite different group of first and second
person variants, namely those in which both forms alike refer really to
the same individuals, viz. the priests or their associates, including the
yajamāna with whom they frequently and naturally identify themselves
in speech See §290 above As is well known, the ritualists may say
either 'we' or 'you', about equally well, in speaking of themselves and
their fellows Singular forms, especially of the first person, are also
not rare, cf below, §§344ff , 347, for variants between first singular and
plural, and second singular and plural, in this sense In this place we
list such of these variants as concern either person alone, or both person
and number, beginning with those between first and second person
plural.

mitrāya (TS. KS * TB ApŚ. *satyāya*) *havyam ghṛtavaj juhota* (TS KS
°*vad vidhema*) RV TS KS. TB ApŚ. MŚ N See §290. The
next is really a mere *vikāra* of this

tasmā u havyom ghṛtavad vidhema (ŚŚ ŚG. °*vaj juhota*) TS. ŚŚ ŚG
ApMB · *dhātra id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ Dhātar is meant
by *tasmai*

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV.
KS ApŚ . *athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu* MS. 'Then may we be
(be ye) fragrant in the house ' AV has different context from the
others

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo 'sivī ye asan* VS. ŚB . *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahīta*) *ye*

asánn aśevāh (AV. *aśvāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV. AV. (bis) TA 'Here (may) we quit (quit ye) those that may be unpropitious '

mṛtyoh padam (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto yad aita* (TA. *aima*; AV. *yopayanta eta*, MG. *lopayante yad eta*) RV. AV. TA. MG (Read probably *etad* in MG)

yathā me bhūrayo 'sata AV.· *yathāsāma jīvaloke bhūrayah* TA. The AV. form is very doubtful, mss '*satah*, both edd. '*sata*; comm. also '*sata*, glossing *syāta*, as if the form were *asatha*, 2d plural subj

pāpmānam te 'pahanmah KŚ.· *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś. '*pa jahi*) MG. Kauś

anadvāham anv ārabhāmahe VS. VSK. TA . *anadvāham plavam anv ārabhadhvam* AV MG In different contexts

iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG First and second person singular.

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS TB. °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV. VS MS KS. TB ApŚ. 'I produce (produce thou) with the heart a lovely hymn to Agni '

tena te vapāmy āyuṣe MG.. *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB. See §124. The first form is addressed to the boy who is shaved, the second to the officiating priest who shaves This might be classed with the following subdivision

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam TB ApŚ. ApMB HG.: *sakhyam te mā yoṣāh* SMB See §168 A reciprocal relation is here expressed in both cases 'may I not be separated from thy friendship', or 'do not withhold thy friendship (from me) '

indro vṛde tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuhi*) AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ See §165 To be classed here if *stuṣe* is first person, as Keith takes it With change of number·

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. Followed by.

tasmai sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApŚ *juhomi*) MS KS ApŚ. MŚ.

viśvān devāns tarpayata (BDh *tarpayāmi*) TB BDh.

Somewhat similar is the following variant between first dual and second singular·

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB corruptly, °*padā babhūva*, cf Winternitz, p xvi f) ApMB HG *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB °*dā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś ApMB SMB The first is spoken by the bridegroom, referring to himself and the bride, the second is addressed to the bride alone. See §367

§308 (c) We come next to a group in which the same person is the

subject of both 1st and 2d personal forms, but in one he is represented as speaking, while in the other he is spoken to   We have met this type already, §303, and a similar interchange is found between 1st and 3 persons, below, §316f.   Thus.

parīdam vājy ajinam (PG. °*dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajinam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG HG ApMB   'I put (put thou) on this skin with vigor' or the like   In HG spoken by the *guru* to his pupil in the others, by the pupil himself

prānasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB *asmi*, HG *abhūr asau*) AG HG ApMB MG   Exactly like preceding, here spoken by the pupil only in ApMB

marutām (MS *sapatnahā ma°*) *prasave jeṣam* (MS *jaya*) TS MS TB ApŚ   'On the impulse of the Maruts may I conquer (conquer thou) '   The subject is the king at the *rājasūya*, who speaks in TS etc , while in MS he is spoken to   In a way this might be classed with the preceding group, the king being the *yajamāna*, cf the variant *tena te vapāmy āyuṣe, tenāsyāyuṣe vapa*, quoted above, which may be said equally to belong here   Other forms, see §§158, 370

syonām āsadam suṣadām āsadam LŚ. *syonām āsīda suṣadām āsīda* VS TS. MS. KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ   'I have sat (sit thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat '   Apparently addressed to, or spoken by, the king at the *rājasūya*

śatam jīvāmi (MG. *jīvema*, AV ApMB HG *ca jīva*) *śaradah purūcīh* AV. ApMB PG HG MG (and others similar, see §303), followed directly in PG MG and once in AV by the following, which occurs in a similar context in the others also·

rāyaś ca poṣam upasamvyayasva AV HG ApMB   *rayim ca putrān anusamvyayasva* PG . *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayiṣye* PG MG   In the PG MG form of these two pādas, the graduate brahman-pupil speaks in person; in the others he is addressed

samitam samkalpethām VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG . *sam ayāva sam kalpāvahai* ApMB   Here a formula belonging originally to the *śrauta* sphere (addressed to two fires, cf Keith on TS 4 2 5 1) is secondarily applied in two *gṛhya* texts, MG and ApMB. In the former it is addressed without change to the bride and groom by the officiating priest in the marriage rite, while in ApMB it is spoken by the bridegroom, of himself and the bride.

samnahye (KS °*hya*) *sukṛtāya kam* TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ. ApMB : *samnahyasvāmṛtāya kam* AV   The bride (AV ApMB) or the sacrificer's wife (the others) speaks or is addressed 'I gird myself (gird thyself) unto goodness (immortality) '   On KS , see §30

§309 (d) Of the few remaining first and second person variants little need be said   For the most part they are simply cases in which a phrase is adapted to a wholly new context, and provided therefore with a wholly different subject   In the first pair of variants we have in one form a deliberate *vikāra* of the other, in adjoining passages:

ati dhanveva tān ihi RV AV. SV. VS.: *dadhanveva tā ihi,* followed by· *nidhanveva tān imi* TA 1 12 2d (both)   And in the same stanza.

yāhi (TA also *yāmi*) *mayūraromabhih* RV. AV SV VS TA   The second version (in 1st person) of TA is deliberately modelled on the first (in 2d person)   Note the anomalous form *imi,* for *emi* (which the meter forbids), under the influence of *ihi*

No less surely, in the following variant, is the MS. form secondarily adapted from the original (as in RV.) to fit its wholly new context, while TA., altho it has the same new context as MS , retains or restores the original form of the verb as in the different context of RV :

atārisma (MS. °*sta*) *tamasas pāram asya* RV MS KS TA. ApŚ. In MS TA the preceding pāda is: *vimucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA °*niyā*) *devayānāh:* 'be released, O cattle, going to the gods, ye (TA we, under the influence of the original form) have crossed to the farther shore of this darkness ' In RV. KS the context is wholly different

§310 In the next we are reminded of the cases listed in the preceding subdivision, but here the subject is changed, the context being a different one, a god speaks of himself in one variant, while two gods are addressed in the other.   See on this point Bloomfield's important observation, *RVRep* 384. 'We may perhaps accept it as a general principle, that in hymns in which a god speaks for himself, repeated pādas, which are otherwise attributed by the poets to a god in the 2d or 3d person, are secondary and epigonal '   If this is so, the 1st person form in the following would be secondary·

yat sunvate yajamānāya śiksathah (*śiksam*) RV (both)

§311 Of the rest it is unnecessary to speak in detail, they contain changes of person to suit very miscellaneous contexts

vajro 'si (MŚ *hāsmi*) *sapatnahā* Kauś MŚ

sūryasyāvrtam anvāvarte (SMB GG *anvāvartasvāsau*) AV. VS KS ŚB SMB GG

indrasya sakhyam amrtatvam aśyām (RV. *ānaśa*) RV TB ApŚ. 2d pl perf in RV

sajālānām madhyamasthā edhi (AV. *madhyameṣthāh;* MS KS °*meṣthe-yāya*) AV. VS TS MS. KS   *saj° madhyameṣthā yathāsāni* AV.

3   Variants between First and Third Person

§312 (a) Here again we find a considerable number of cases in which
the statement of something effected by the speaker (expressed in 1st
person) varies with a statement of the same thing as effected by the
potency on which he relies, which in this case is expressed in the third
person, the potency being not addressed directly; cf above, §§289, 302,
304.

udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS *ajigrabhat;* KS *ajigrabham,* and *ajigṛbham*)
    VS TS MS KS. ŚB. 'With elevation he (Indra) has elevated
    me', or '   I have elevated myself'   The context is the same, and
    Indra's instrumentality is implied also in KS

tāh sam tanomi (TS. MS. ApŚ *dadhāmi,* KS *dadhātu*) *haviṣā* (MS.
    manasā) *ghṛtena* TS MŚ KS AŚ. KŚ ApŚ   'These (offerings) I
    unite (let him, in KS. Viśvakarman, unite) with oblation, with ghee '
    The passages are similar, tho not exactly identical, and 1st or 3d
    would go well enough in all.

tau yuñjīta (AV. *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV SV.   'Them (Indra's
    arms) let him (I shall) yoke first' etc

preto muñcāmi (AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu,* PG. *muñcaiu,* ApMB
    muñcāli) *nāmutah* (ŚG MG. SMB † *māmutah,* PG *mā pateh*)
    RV AV. AG ŚG SMB. PG. ApMB MG   Two different con-
    texts one in RV. AV. ApMB , followed by

subaddhām amutas karam (ApMB. *karat*) RV AV. ApMB 'I release (he,
    i e some god, shall release) her (the bride) from here, not from
    there, I have (he has) made her well-fastened there '   In the other
    (GS) texts, the subject of the verb is Aryaman or Pūṣan, previously
    mentioned, so, perhaps, ApMB is to be interpreted   A related
    but still different formula, *ito mukṣīya māmutah* (ApŚ *mā pateh*)
    VS ŚB ApŚ , is spoken (in a different context) by the bride her-
    self, hence medio-passive, see §30.

idam asmākam bhuje bhogāya bhūyāt (MŚ *bhūyāsam*) KS ApŚ MŚ
    'May this be (may I be here) for enjoyment and feasting unto us '
    MŚ doubtless secondary.

abhi tvā varcasāsicam (AV. °*siñcan,* read °*sican,* see Whitney on 4 8. 6)
    AV KS TB   Followed in AV by *āpo divyāh payasvatīh,* in KS.
    TB. by *divyena* (KS *yajñena*) *payasā saha,* Ppp agrees with TB
    The preceding stanza ends in āll *abhiṣiñcāmi varcasā,* perhaps KS.
    TB. have altered the original under the influence of this, but the
    Ppp version makes it doubtful whether the AVŚ can contain the
    original form of the pāda   'I have (the waters have) poured out

nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt LŚ ApŚ . *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV.
VS 'Let (the herbs) free me from the (effect) of the curse': 'I free
myself from the curse.'

mama vrate te hṛdayam (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG.
dadhātu) AG ŚG. SMB PG MG 'In my power I set (let him,
sc some god, set) thy heart ' See Conc for other, vaguer, parallels

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś *annādam annādyāyādadhe* (KS
annādyāyān ıapatyāyādadhe) TS KS . *annādam agnim annapa-*
tyāyādadhe MS · *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ · *agnim annā-*
dam annādyāyādadhe VS The subject in Kauś is apparently Aditi,
who is addressed in the others also, they all have 1st person verbs,
of which the priestly speaker is of course the subject.

pāvamānasya tvā stomena vīryenot sṛje MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena*
vīryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu (KS *vīryenoddharāmy asau*) TS.
KS

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena vīryenod dhare (KS *vīryenotsṛjāmy asau*) MS
KS *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena savitot sṛjatu* . TS

prajām asyai jcradaṣṭim kṛnotu (and, *kṛnomi*) SMB (both). Subject
of *kṛnotu* is Agni

sa pūrvyo nūtanam āvivāsat (SV *āṇgīṣam*) AV SV. Subject of the 3d
person is the sun, Conc suggests that SV should read *āṇgīṣat*, and
this would certainly be simpler

sam ākūtīr namāmasi (MS *anansata*) RVKh AV MS

garbham sravantam agadam akah (AŚ *akarma*) TB. ApŚ AŚ · *ukhām*
(ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ *aganma*) KŚ MŚ
ApŚ Followed in next pāda by a series of names of gods, in most
texts in the nominative (e g *agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam* AŚ.
ApŚ *, agnir indras tvaṣṭā bṛhaspatih* TB ApŚ *) *akah* is 3d sing ,
the subject being the following *agnir* (not all the following nouns
collectively, as TB comm says). The reading with *akarma* may
be rendered. 'We have made whole the slipping embryo (fire-pot, or,
her that drops the embryo),—(and also) Agni, Indra, etc (have made
it, or her, whole) ' Caland on ApŚ 9 18 12 assumes, apparently,
that *akarma* corruptly represents a 3d person, but this is neither
necessary nor likely

rūpād varnam (ApŚ *rūpam varnam paśūnām*) *mā nirmṛkṣat* (ApŚ °*kṣam*),
[see §302,] followed by

vāji tvā sapatnasāham sam mārṣti (ApŚ *mārjmi*) ApŚ MŚ. After these
two formulas comes the command *iti sammārṣti*, in MŚ 1. 2 5 7,
see Knauer's note Knauer speaks of 'stellvertretende Spruchrecita-

tion', that is, he supposes that the formulas are recited by another priest than the one who does the cleansing   The simple command *iti sammārṣṭi* seems to make this improbable, and we prefer to think that it is spoken by the same priest, but that, as in so many other similar formulas, he attributes the effect to the instrument of cleansing, instead of to himself. 'It shall not wipe off' etc   So in the following, where MŚ (altho its mss vary, and in one case they read 1st person) seems to have regularly had a 3d person (or at least so Knauer thinks):

agne vājajid   sam mārjmi   VS ŚB TB ApŚ Vait.   *ājim iwāgne sammārṣṭi* MŚ (two formulas, see Conc) In one case all MŚ mss agree on °*mārṣṭi*

§313 As in the case of 1st and 2d persons (§306), this group is swelled by some cases in which the activity or result is, in one variant, nominally attributed to the instrumental potency rather than the speaker

so 'mṛtatvam aśīya (VSK. *aśyāt*) VṢ. VSK. MS ŚB. ŚŚ   'May I (he) attain immortality.' The subject in VSK. is apparently understood as Varuna

upāṁśunā sam amṛtatvam ānaṭ (ApMB *aśyām*) RV VS MS. KS TA AŚ. ApMB MahānU. 'Thru soma it gained (may I gain) immortality' The original subject is *ūrmir madhumān*, the ApMB has a facile and slipshod alteration

pañca (AV. *trīṇi*) *padāni rupo* (AV. *rūpo*) *anv aroham* (AV. °*hat*), *catuṣpadīm anv emi* (AV. *aitad*) *vratena; akṣareṇa prati mima etāṁ* (AV *mimīte arkam*), *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmi* (AV °*ti*) RV. AV. An obscure verse in an obscure hymn, used in RV in the *havirdhāna*, in AV in the funeral rites, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten,* ad 10 13. 3   In RV. the subject is probably the *hotar* (Oldenberg), at any rate the same as in the first-person verbs of the preceding verse, in AV it is probably Yama as in the following verse.

gāyatrena chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi krame TS   *pṛthivyām* (KS °*vīm*) *viṣṇur* (MS *viṣṇuh pṛthivyām*) *vyakraṁsta gāyatrena chandasā* VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ. And the same with *traiṣṭubhena   antarikṣam* etc , and *jāgatena   divam* etc

Here would belong the following, if the TA version were to be accepted as a 1st person form:

pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS *amṛtam anu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*) *indrān* AV. VS TA MahānU In AV 'may he (Gandharva), knowing of the immortal, proclaim ' On *voce* see §174 It seems that only a 3d person form can be intended here, so the TA comm , *provāca,* evidently thinking of *ūce,* 3d sing perfect middle

§314 (b) We referred above (§291) to the fact that third personal forms, either plural or (less often) singular, are frequently used in a generalizing sense, equivalent to French *on*, German *man*; and to the further fact that first person plurals sometimes vary with them in this same sense (and even, once, a first person singular). In the first cases about to be presented both 1st and 3d persons seem to be generalizing or indefinite:

[*yathā kalām yathā śapham*] *yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharnam samnayanti*), [*evā duṣvapnyam sarvam āptye* (AV. *apriye*, or *dviṣate*) *samnayāmasi*] RV. AV (bis)   See §291.

[*yat kim cedam varuna daivye jane*] *abhidroham manuṣyāś carāmasi* (AV. *caranti*) RV. AV TS MS. KS 'Whatever here, O Varuna, men (we humans) practise that is hostile to the god-folk.' ˙ AV. is less appropriate metrically.

yām (PG. *yā*, KS MG *ye*) *tvā* (PG *tām*) *rātry* (PG MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* (AV. PG *upāsmahe*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. KS SMB PG. MG. Preceded by *samvatsarasya pratimām* (PG °*mā*) 'Thee whom, O night, we (they, both indefinite) revere as the image of the year', or the like.

Perhaps here belongs the following·

pra tve havīnṣi juhure (KS *juhumas*) *samiddhe* (MS. *tve samiddhe juhure havīnṣi*) RV. VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. The form *juhure* (see §77) may be taken as middle with indefinite subject, 'they offer oblations in thee when kindled' (so Keith on TS.), or as passive with *havīnṣi* as subject, 'oblations are offered', much less likely as a 1st sing. with Ludwig The KS reading, 'we offer oblations', favors the first interpretation

And, once at least, even singular forms are used in the same way: *tam tvā bhaga sarva ij johavīmi* (RV. VS °*hi*) RV AV. VS TB. ApMB. ˙ See §291

§315 The rest are generalizing only in the 3d person form, while the 1st person (always singular) is perfectly definite In the first couple of variants the indefinite 3d person is singular, in all the rest plural

tān ādityān anu madā (MS. *madāi*) *svastaye* RV. MS. If *madā* is 1st singular subjunctive: 'I will (one shall) revel (? revel thou) to the Ādityas unto welfare.' But MS. p.p. reads *mada* (2d sing. impv), 'revel thou', which would make this variant belong in §307, or §261, according as RV. *madā* be taken as 1st or 2d person.

[*yadi jāgrad yadi svapann*] *ena enasyo 'karam*, [*bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam ca drupadād iva muñcatām*] AV.. [*yadi divā yadi naktam*] *ena enasyo*

'*karat*, [*bhūtam* . *muñcatu*] (so read with Poona ed) TB   'If
waking or sleeping I, sinful, have committed sin (if by night or day
a sinful person has committed sin), may what has been and what is
to be free me from that as from a log.' TB. comm *kṛtavān asmi*
for *akarat*   Note also *mā* in TB., there is no doubt that TB. like
AV really means to refer to the speaker's own sin. But by a touch
of sly squeamishness the TB dodges the incriminating first-per-
sonal verb, and speaks of himself as if he didn't know who was
meant, 'some one or other'!

yat tvā (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (KS. ms °*vāpa*, 3d person, which may
      be kept!, AV. *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV. TS. MS. KS ApŚ MŚ
      'If I, angry (if an angry man, or angry men) have thrown thee out '

na vi jānāmi (AB. *jānanti*) *yatarat* (AV °*rā*) *parastāt* AV. AB. JB   'I
      (they = people in general) do not know which is superior '   (In
      AV. different context from the others)

apām rasam udayansam (TA °*san*) KS TA   Comm. on TA *sarve lokā*
      udgatāh.

prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV : *prācīm avācīm ava yann ariṣyai*
      TA   The 3d plural of TA can only be indefinite; comm *vayam*
      avaimo jānīmah!

vacānsy āsā (SV. *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuh*) RV. SV.   'I
      (they) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face
      (or, for this mighty one).'

atrā te rūpam uttamam apaśyam (VSK °*yan*) RV VS VSK TS KSA.
      'Here I (they = people) have beheld thy highest form '   To the
      sacrificial horse in YV. In the stanza before this·

śiro apaśyam (VSK °*yan*) *pathibhih sugebhih*, same texts —But the
      VSK. reading is suspicious here, since if Weber's ed can be trusted,
      it reads 1st person *ajānām* like all the others in the first pāda of the
      same stanza   Furthermore Weber records no variant for VSK
      on *apaśyam* in the preceding, precisely similar stanza (*atrā te bhadrā*
      raśanā apaśyam).

yam tvā somenātitṛpāma (TS. °*pam;* MŚ °*pan*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ.
      And, in same stanza:

yam tvā somenāmīmadam (MŚ. °*dan*) TS MŚ

ghṛtam mimikṣe (TA. °*kṣire*) *ghṛtam asya yonih* RV. VS TA. MahānU.

sam u vām (*vo*) *yajñam mahayam* (°*yan*) *namobhih* RV. (both)   Grass-
      mann, 'man schmücket' for *mahayan*

apo devīr (VS. ŚB *devā*) *madhumatīr agṛbhnām* (TS. ApŚ. *agṛhṇan,* VS.
      ŚB. *agṛbhnan*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ   'I (they) have taken

the sweet divine waters', the subject is indefinite in TS. ApŚ., in VS.
ŚB it is made definite, 'the gods have taken the sweet waters'

indrasya tvā jathare sādayāmi (AŚ. *dadhāmi*)   VSK. KB GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
LŚ ApŚ. Kauś: *brahmana indrasya tvā* (Conc. omits *tvā*) *jathare*
dadhuh MŚ   As one eats (*prāśnāti*), he says: 'I place (they, indef.,
have placed) thee in the belly of (Brahman, of) Indra.' The par-
allel formulas are all 1st singular even in MŚ, and this is certainly an
easier reading; one wonders how the 3d plural indefinite crept in
to MŚ

ratham na dhīrah svapā atakṣam (RV * *atakṣiṣuh*) RV (both) TB.   The
3d plural is of substantially the same character as the preceding,
even tho a subject (*āyavah*) is here expressed in the preceding pāda.
The first person has priority, see *RVRep* 133f.

§316   (c) In a number of cases first and third person forms are used
referring, in one way or another, to the same individual as subject.
Some of these remind us of the subdivision (b) under First and Second
Person variants (§307), in that the subject is both times an associate in
the ritual performance, a priest or the *yajamāna*, who either speaks or
is indirectly referred to, as·

snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm. and Poona ed. text, °*nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu*
(AŚ *'ham asmi*) TB. AŚ   See §116   The subject is the *yajamāna*
both times.

sarve vrātā varunasyābhūvan (MS. °*bhūma*) TS. MS. KS. TB.   Spoken
by the *yajamāna* at the *rājasūya*   'They (we) all have become the
hosts of Varuna'   In either case the associates of the *yajamāna*
are meant

havante vājasātaye RV · *huvema vā*° RV. SV. MS KS : *huveya vā*° RV.
AV.   The contexts are different (see *RVRep* 255f), but the variant
may properly be classified here, since in the 3d person form the
subject, *janāsah* or *kanvāh*, is really identical with the speaker and
his associates.

§317. Again, there are cases reminding us of subdivision (c) under
First and Second Persons (§308), in that the change is conditioned by
the fact that the same person speaks himself in one variant, while in the
other he is spoken of:

anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse MŚ. (spoken by the *yajamāna*).
anuvatsarīṇām svastim āśāste TB. ApŚ (said of the *yajamāna* by the
hotar)   The same with *parivatsarīnām* etc., *samvatsarīnām* etc

§318 As will be seen from this illustration the dividing line between
these different types is not clear. The majority of the variants in this

subdivision are perhaps best described by saying that in one form a statement is couched in more or less general terms, the subject being not clearly identified with the speaker, while in the other (with first person) this identification is definitely made.   In a way, therefore, these cases resemble those listed under the preceding sub-section, §315   The difference, which is not by any means sharp or clear, is that in the cases listed here the subject of the third person form is not so indefinite as in those mentioned above, it could not be rendered by German *man* or French *on*, since in fact a subject is expressed, or at least very clearly understood   But this subject is clearly identified with the speaker only in the first-person form of the variant.   Thus:

sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ † *adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ ; followed in the first two by:

riasya panthām anv emi (ApŚ *eti*) *hotā* AŚ ApŚ.   'They (fetters) bind the simple, the wise passes over them (I, being wise, pass etc), along the path of holy order goes (I go as) the *hotar*.'   Spoken by the *hotar*

āchettā te (*vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS. *mārṣam*) TS MS. KS TB ApŚ MŚ   'Let (me) your cutter not suffer harm.'   Even in the 3d person form the subject is really identical with the speaker

yad devayantam avathah śacībhih, pari ghransam omanā vām (TB. *parighransa vām manā vām*) *vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV MS. TB. N   'When you (Aśvins) aid the pious man mightily, then he (I) shall go to refreshment, passing over heat by your aid', or the like.   TB is badly corrupted, and the comm.'s explanations are mostly worthless, but his *gachatu* for *gām* is at least interesting, and not far wrong.   The speaker identifies himself with the 'pious man'; as to *gām* TB., while undoubtedly secondary, need not be considered corrupt.

yam sarve 'nujīvāma TS . *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS.: *yam bahava upajīvanti* AŚ   'On whom many (we all) may depend '

tiro (RV VS ŚB AG. *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA ApŚ * *dadhmahe*) *parvatena* RV AV. VS ŚB. TA. ApŚ (bis) AG ApMB   'Let them block (hide, or remove, or, 'we hide') death by a mountain '   After the funeral, the living are separated from the dead by a barrier, the subject of *dadhatām* is 'the living'.

§319 If the first-person form is textually sound, the following belongs here, the verb occurs in a relative clause, in one form of which the subject is identified with the speaker, and the verb put in the first person, presumably even the other form really refers to the speaker or his associates·

mā yah somam ımaṁ pıbāt (KŚ. *pıbā;* KS. *somam pıbād ımam*) KS. TB.
KŚ ApŚ. See §331.

§320 Once a speaker ıs represented as quotıng some one else's words
about hımself, ın the ıncluded quotatıon the subject of the verb, refer-
rıng to the speaker of the maın clause, should logıcally be thırd person,
but ın just half the texts ıt ıs made fırst person, by a natural laxıty:

abhy aṣthām (MS. MŚ *asthām,* TS. KS ApŚ. *asthād) vıśvāh prtanā
arātīh* AV TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ 'I have (he has, referrıng to
the speaker) conquered all battles and hostılıtıes' [thus spake Agnı,
etc , sc of me]

§321 In a way the converse of thıs ıs found ın the next varıant, ın
whıch ın one out of three texts the speaker ıs made to refer to hımself ın
the thırd person, because the poet thınks of hım ın the thırd person·

upamañkṣyatı syā (ŚŚ. *upamañkṣye 'ham;* AB *nımañkṣye 'ham) salılasya
madhye* AB. ŚB. ŚŚ 'I shall (she, the earth, wıll) plunge ınto the
mıddle of the ocean.' The earth ıs the speaker.

§322 In a stıll more strange passage both forms refer to the same
subject, so far as we can see, whıch ought to be fırst person, no justıfıca-
tıon for the thırd person ıs apparent:

prajāpateh prajā abhūma (KS *abhūvan)* VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB.
Preceded or followed ın all by. *svar devā* (TS. TB. *devān) aganma*
(MS. *agāma),* and, *amrtā abhūma* 'We have gone to heaven as
gods (or, to the gods), we (KS. they) have become creatureŝ of
Prajāpatı, we have become ımmortal ' In KS, as ın most texts,
thıs ıs the order, with fırst-person expressıons flankıng the varıant
formula on eıther sıde Unless 'the gods' ıs felt as the subject ın
KS, whıch seems unlıkely, we cannot explaın the 3d person.

§323. (d) The remaınıng cases concern mıscellaneous changes of
subject, eıther ın the same context (ın about half the cases, those whıch
are lısted fırst), or condıtıoned by a change of context, a few defınıte
ūhas or *vıkāras* are ıncluded towards the end; and the sectıon concludes
wıth a few corruptıons or errors Fırst, change of subject ın what re-
maıns essentıally the same context.

vıśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhır īde (ApMB. *ītte)* RV. ApMB 'I worshıp
(she, the brıde, worshıps) Vıśvāvasu wıth homage and songs '
The gandharva Vıśvāvasu ıs banıshed from the brıde. All mss. of
ApMB agree, see Wınternıtz, Introductıon, p xıx.

dīrghāyutvāya jaradastır asmı (MG. *astu)* PG. MG. In MG. *jaradastır*
ıs understood as a *tatpuruṣa,* whıle ın PG. ıt ıs a *bahuvrīhı;* both
mean the same thıng 'I am one that attaıns old age unto long
lıfe,' or, 'let there be (for me) attaınment of old age' etc.

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah,* MS. *bhūyāsma te*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* (MS.†
    °*dah,* so text intends with its reading °*dā,* followed by initial vowel)
    TS MS KS. PG   'Viśvavedas is in good-will towards me (us)',
    or, 'may we be in thy good-will, O Viśvavedas '

nahi te nāma jagrāha AV.: *nahy-asyā* (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma gṛbhnāmi*
    RV. ApMB. See Whitney on AV 3 18 3

vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣtu SV. *vande dārum* (read *vandārur,* or
    vandār-vā?) *vandamāno vivakmi* RV   See Bloomfield, *Johns Hop-
    kins Circulars,* 1906, p 1062, Ludwig, 4 367; Oldenberg, *RVNoten,*
    on 7 6 1.

apah prerayam (SV. *prairayat,* TB *prairayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV.
    SV TB   Preceded in all by. *indrāya giro aniśitasargāh*   Only
    the RV. version is really sensible; the others are careless distortions.
    Benfey is forced to take the preceding pāda as a separate sentence,
    making Indra the subject of *prairayat*   TB comm gives *giro*
    as the subject and *apah* as the object of *prairayan.*   Cf. §138

yad ahnāt (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. (followed by: *tad ahnāt,*
    or *rātriyāt, pratimucyate*) *yad ahnā* (and, *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam*
    TA. MahānU. The form *kurute* is evidently felt as passive:
    'What sin is done (I have done) by day', etc.

o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām RV. AV (Yamī speaks to Yama). *ā
    tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuh* SV (unintelligent revamping of the
    same pāda, Benfey, 'dich möchten Freunde zu Freundschaft
    gewinnen')

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan,* and once *svadam,* KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS.
    MS ŚB   'Let thy oblations taste sweet' or the like   If *svadam*
    is right, it must be transitive, 'I have enjoyed thy oblations ' But
    probably *svadan* should be read

§324 In some of the above it will be noticed that number as well as
person varies in one form of the variant   Likewise the now following
list of variants, in which change of subject is conditioned by a change
of context, contains cases with change of both person and number

[*apa dveṣo apa hvaro*] '*nyavratasya* (TA *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV
    saścire, TA *saścimah,* but read °*ma* with Poona ed) RV. VS MS.
    SB. TA. In a different context in RV from the others

āyuṣmān (°*mān,* °*māñ*) *jaradaṣṭir yathāsat* (RVKh VS °*sam,* AV also
    °*sāni*) AV. (both) RVKh. VS. AG PG ApMB   Used in no less than
    four different stanzas, two in AV , one in RVKh. VS., and one in
    the GS. texts

yatra devaih sadhamādam madema (AV. *madanti*) AV. MS. TB. In

three different contexts; no two alike But AV. comm reads *madema*.

ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB *kṛnomi*) RV. ApMB.: *ariṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ MŚ MG : *ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS. Similar stanzas, but extensively recast. 'I set thee (let him set me, may I be) uninjured with thy (my) husband.' In the last two forms the woman speaks

samjānate manasā sam cikitre RV · *samjānāmahai manasā sam cikitvā* AV.

sarvam āyur vy ānaśe (MS. *aśnavai*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *viśvam āyur vy aśnavai* (AV mss. °*vat*) AV VS KS TB.: *dīrgham āyur vy aśnavai* PG. The vulgate text of AV emends to °*vam*, unnecessarily; subject is *sabhā* The context is different from the rest.

Deliberate *ūhas* or *vikāras*

ayam (AŚ. **aham*) *śatrūn jayatu* (AŚ * *jayāmi*) *jarhṛṣānah* (AŚ.* †*jarhiṣānah*), *ayam* (AŚ * *aham*) *vājam* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ.* *jayāmi*) *vājasātau* VS. VSK. TS MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis). In AŚ. 2. 11. 8c we have a *vikāra* of the other passage.

divyam dhāmāśāste (and, ūha, *āśāse*) ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

adṛśan (and, *apaśyam*) *tvāvarohantam* NīlarU. (both). The first is a *vikāra* of the other.

tam tvā parameṣṭhin pari rohita (*pary agnir, pary aham*)...*dadhātu* (*dadhāmi*) AV. 13 1 17d. 18d, 19d

jyotiṣe tantava āśiṣam āśāse (KS 7 2 °*ste*) KS 7. 2, 9 (so, correct Conc.) If these are the correct readings, we have another case of *ūha*. But the sole ms used by the ed. for 7.2 reads *āśāste* also in 7.9; if corrupt in one passage, it is likely to be corrupt in the other too. The better reading seems to be *āśāse*; probably read so both times, with ms D on 7.9 and KapS (see editor's note).

gamat sa (*gamema; sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV. (all).

jyok paśyema (RV also *paśyāt*, and *paśyema nu*, omitting *jyok*) *sūryam uccarantam* RV. (all) AV.

§325 Corruptions or errors:

idam vām tena prīnāmi ŚŚ : *etad vām tena prīnāti* TB. ApŚ. So Conc., and so Garbe reads in ApŚ But TB. (both edd.) has *prīnāni*, and this is to be read also in ApŚ , see Caland on 2. 20. 6, note 2.

vājino me yajñam vahān (MŚ text *vahāni*, followed by *iti*; probably read *vahān* with v 1) MS KS MŚ

rāyas poṣāyotsṛje (MS. erroneously °*jet*) MS MŚ.

tām te vācam āsya ādatte (read *ādade*)...PG. 3. 13. 6 (see Stenzler's critical note): *ā te vācam āsyā* (*āsyām*) *dade* HG. ApMB.

sthāmny aśvāṅ atiṣṭhipam AV.· *sthāmni vṛkḷāv atiṣṭhipan* AV., vulgate,
    misprint for *°pam*, see Whitney on 7. 96 1

Under: *prāṇena vācā manasā bibharmi*, Conc quotes TB. 2 5 8 7 as
    reading *bibharti;* this is an error, there is no variant

4. *Variants between Second and Third Person*

§326 These are much more numerous than those between first and
either second or third person   Nor are they by any means lacking in
interest   But little comment is needed on most of them. The great
majority are simply cases in which the same subject is alternatively
addressed in second person or indirectly referred to in third; and the
most interesting feature of this large class is that sometimes one or the
other form is inconsistent with its context.   This inconsistency may be
of two kinds· either the subject of the second person may be a nomina-
tive or that of the third person a vocative, or parallel expressions in the
surrounding context may be of the opposite type (direct address by the
side of third-personal reference) in one form   Examples of all these
types have been quoted above, §293f , they will form the basis of the
following classification. We shall conclude with the smaller, but still
not inconsiderable, number of cases in which the change of person is
associated with a real change of subject, either in the same context, or
owing to the use of the phrase in a different context

§327. (a) First, then, variations between direct address and third-
personal indirect reference to the same subject, in which there is no in-
consistency with the context in either variant   The subject, if expressed,
is nominative with the 3d person and vocative with the 2d; and if there
are parallel expressions associated, they present no inconsistencies
In not a few instances, as we shall presently see, a whole stanza, contain-
ing several parallel verbs, is recast, each verb being changed from 2d to
3d person or vice versa

§328 Attention must first be called to the little group of cases in
which Soma is referred to in the 3d person in RV., but directly addressed
in the 2d person in a repetition in SV.; see §295, and for cases in which
the context is inconsistent, §334

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV. *°si*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati*
    (SV. *°si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. *°se mahad dhanam*),
    srāyudhah soṭṛbhih pūyate vṛṣā (SV *°bhih soma sūyase*) RV. SV
    Here an entire stanza is recast; note that the nominative subject of
    RV. becomes a vocative in SV.

[*ayā somah* (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā,*] *mahaś cid abhy avardhata* (SV. *ma-*

hānı sann abhy avardhathāh), mandāna ud (SV. ıd) *vṛṣāyate* (SV. °*se*) RV. SV.

te no dhāntu (SV. *dhatta*) *suvīryam* RV. SV. There is no expressed subject, nor other finite verb, in the stanza; Soma is understood as subject

pavitre parı ṣicyate (SV °*se*), *krandan devān ajījanat* (SV °*nah*) RV SV. The (unexpressed) subject ıs Soma

pavamāno vy aśnavat (SV. °*na vy aśnuhı*) RV SV.

nadayann etı (SV. *eṣı*) *pṛthivīm uta dyām*, and, in same stanza· *pracetayann arṣatı* (SV. *pracodayann arṣası*) *vācam emām* RV. SV. In thıs and the rest the unexpressed subject ıs Soma

vājān abhı pra gāhate (SV. °*se*) RV SV

harıḥ san yonım āsadat (SV °*dah*) RV. SV

§329. The rest are mıscellaneous, and need no subdıvısıon At the begınnıng of the lıst are placed a number of ınstances of entıre stanzas, or series of formulas, varyıng ın thıs way:

navo-navo bhavatı (AV JUB °*sı*) *jāyamānah, ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV.† *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo ıdadhātı* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās tırate* (TS °*tı*, AV.† °*mas tırase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.; the first pāda also TB AŚ. HG BDh JUB VHDh

ıhı (AV. *etu*) *tısrah parāvatah, ıhı* (AV. *etu*) *pañca janān atı, ıhı* (AV. *etu*) *tısro 'tı rocanāh* (AV °*nā*, despite gender of *tısro*!) RV. (first two pādas only) AV TB ApŚ Addrest to, or saıd.of, a rival

ye rātrım (KS °*ım*) *anutıṣṭhantı* (KS † °*atha*), *ye ca bhūteṣu jāgratı* (KS. °*gṛtha*), *paśūn ye sarvān rakṣantı* (KS °*atha*), *te na ātmasu jāgratı* (KS.† *jāgrta*) AV KS

amocı (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād durıtād avartyaı* (AV. *avadyāt*), *druhah pāśān nırṛtyaı codamocı* (AV *pāśād grāhyāś codamukthāh*), *ahā avartım* (AV *arātım*) *avıdat* (AV °*dah*) *syonam, apy abhūd* (AV. *abhūr*) *bhadre sukṛtasya loke* AV. TB ApMB. The two verse-halves are secondarıly separated ın AV but obvıously belong to-gether, see Whıtney on AV. 2 10 2 The verb *ahā(s)* may be eıther 2d or 3d person, and thıs ambıguıty may be responsible for the alteratıon ın the others. Probably AV. wıth its second persons ıs secondary (*ahās* seemed to call for them!), for Ppp has all verbs in the same form as TB. ApMB. (Barret, *JAOS.* 30 193).

yad asarpat (KS °*pas*) *tat sarpır abhavat* (KS. °*vah*, MS. omıts), *yan navam aıt* (KS *aıs*) *tan navanītam abhavat* (KS. °*vah*), *yad aghrıyata* (KS. °*thās*, TS. *adhrıyata*) *tad ghṛtam abhavat* (KS. °*vah*, MS. omıts) TS. MS. KS The butter is referred to or addrest

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV TB *aprati*) RV AV SV TB..
    followed m RV. SV by
hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsānı satpatī, hato* (SV *hatho*) *vıśvā apa dvıṣah* RV SV.
    In SV the entıre stanza ıs changed to a dırect address The first
    pāda ıs used ın AV. TB ın a different stanza, addressed however to
    the same gods (Indra and Agnı), who are dırectly addressed ın the
    2d person, as Whitney remarks, only *hatho* (as ın TB) ıs constru-
    able, yet all AV mss , followed by both edd , read *hato*. Thıs AV.
    readıng belongs to §332 below It seems clear that ıt ıs a very
    ancıent perversıon, due to recollectıon of the Rıgvedıc form of the
    pāda
pıtr̄n yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah,* preceded by, *yo agnıh* (TS *yad agne*)
    kavyavāhanah (TS °*na,* RV *kravya*°), and followed by.
pred u (TS *pra ca*) *havyānı vocaṭı* (TS *vakṣyası*) RV VS TS KS
uttame nāka ıha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvm*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ. See
    above, §303
akartām aśvınā lakṣma AV   *kṛnutam lakṣmāśvınā* AV   See §130
agnır me hotā sa mopahvayatām SB . *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva*
    KS ApŚ. MŚ   *aqnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vaıt
agnınāgnıh samvadatām TA   *agne agnınā samvadasva* TA. ApŚ
ıha rama MS. AB AŚ ApŚ   *ıha ramah*† HG 1 12 2 (not *rama,* con-
    strue as noun). *ıha ramatām* VS ŚB HG. Used ın varıous con-
    nexıons, but ın VS and MS ın precısely the same set of formulas
    The ımmedıately precedıng formula ın both ıs addressed to gods,
    referrıng (ın 3d person) to the sacrıficıal horse, but just before thıs
    the horse ıs dırectly addressed ın a serıes of formulas, hence ıt ıs
    easy for MS. to address *ıha rama* dırectly to the horse, no harshness
    ıs felt VS , however, ıs equally natural ın referrıng to the horse
    ın the thırd person, the prayer ın *ıha ramatām* may quıte as well be
    addressed to the gods just mentıoned. Mahīdhara, however, thınks
    the horse must be addressed, and supplıes *bhavān* wıth *ramatām* —
    There seems to be nothıng ınconsıstent wıth the person ın the other
    texts
dyām (VSK *dıvam*) *agrenāspṛkṣa āntarıkṣam madhyenāprāh pṛthıvīm*
    uparenādṛnhīh VS VSK (for whıch read ın Conc °*āspṛkṣah*) KS
    ŚB (addrest ın all to the *yūpa*); *devo vanaspatır* (sc *yūpo*) *varsaprāvā*
    ghrtanırnıg dyām agrenāspṛkṣad āntarıkṣam madhyenāprāh
    pṛthıvīm uparenādṛnhīt· MS. KS TB   Note that *aprās* may be
    eıther 2d or 3d person, and that KS has both forms of the varıant
uṣo dadṛkṣe (PB. *ūṣā,* read *uṣā, dadṛśe*) *na punar yatīva* RV PB

śivena mā (ApMB. *tvā*) *cakṣuṣā paśyatāpaḥ* (ApMB. *paśyantv āpaḥ*), *śivayā tanvopa spṛśata tvacam me* (ApMB *spṛśantu tvacam te*) AV. TS. MS. AB. ApMB *āpaḥ* nom. in ApMB, voc in the rest.

stego na kṣām aty eti pṛthvīm (AV. *eṣi pṛthvīm*) RV. AV. In a riddlesome verse, the meaning of which is equally obscure in either form; there is nothing inconsistent with either person in the context.

svargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait; *svarge* (TS TB *suvarge*) *loke prornuvāthām* (TS KSA † TB. *sampror°*; VSK TS TB. *°ṛṇvā°*; MS *°tām*) VS VSK. TS. KSA. MS. TB. ŚB. Addrest to (in MS said of) the queen and the horse in the *aśvamedha*.

ghṛtena (Kauś. *vapayā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām* (VS. TS ApŚ. *prornvātham*, MS MŚ *prornuvātām*) VS VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ. Kauś. The subject, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, is nom. in MS MŚ.

sam arīr (MS. KS. *arir*) *vidām* (KS. *vidah*) VS MS. KS ŚB The formula is obscure; see Eggeling on ŚB. 3 9. 4 21. No basis for preference as to person.

kurvato me mā kṣeṣṭa (GB Vait. *kṣeṣthāḥ*) MS. GB Vait . . *mopadasat* TS. KS. TB ApŚ And· *sadato me mā kṣāyi* (GB *me mopadasaḥ*, MS. *°sat*), same texts

aśvinā pibatam (VS KŚ *°tāṁ*) *madhu* (TB. ApŚ *sutam*) RV VS. TB ApŚ MŚ. and (pratīka) KŚ. *aśvinā* nom or voc.

ity adadāḥ (ŚB. *°dāt*) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The subject is the *yajamāna*, who is praised either in direct address or indirect reference by singers: 'Thus thou didst (he did) give!' Similarly: *ity ayajathāh* (ŚB *°ta*), and· *ity ayudhyathāh* (ŚB and, as quoted in Conc, MŚ *°ta*), and: *ity amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ. *ajayathāh*, ŚB. *ajayat*), same texts [I question the quotation from MŚ. 9 2 2 *ayudhyata*, since it is inconsistent with all the others; it ·was furnisht by Knauer from mss for the Conc, and has not been published even yet. F. E]

idam vātena sagirena rakṣa (MS. *rakṣatu*) TS MS. KS AŚ Subject in prec pāda, *indra* (MS *indrah*) *stomena*.. Note that *indra* before *st-* might be understood as = *indrah* The MS makes this single pāda (in a *triṣṭubh* verse) *jagatī*, and is clearly secondary.

devā deveṣu śrayantām (TB *śrayadhvam*), *prathamā dvitīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB *śrayadhvaṁ*), *dvitīyās tṛtīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB. *°dhvam*) KS. TB. Subj *devāḥ*, voc or nom.

no asmin ramate jane (AV *ramase patau*) RV AV ApMB. Subject is a rival wife

mahyam (this goes with prec pāda in MŚ) *yajamānāya tiṣṭha* (MŚ. *tiṣṭhatu*, mss. *tiṣṭhat*) TS MŚ.

yato na punar āyasi (AV °*ti*) AV TB ApŚ   Addrest to, or spoken of,
   a rival   AVPpp. agrees with TB ApŚ

ślakṣṇam evāva gūhatı (ŚŚ °*si*) AV ŚŚ.   And (prec vs):

tıṣṭhantam ava gūhatı AV   *tıṣṭhann evāvagūhası* ŚŚ (but here the mss
   of AV have *gūhası*)   Unintelligible stuff.

sam revatīr jagatībhıh pṛcyantām sam (VSK om *pṛ*° *sam*) *madhumatīr
   madhumatībhıh pṛcyantām* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ . *sam revatīr jagatī-
   bhır madhumatīr madhumatībhıh sṛjyadhvam* TS TB   The adjec-
   tives are noms even ın TS TB , but no noun subject ıs exprest,
   so that thıs cannot be called a syntactıc ınconsıstency

yadā prāno abhyavarṣīt AV   *yadā tvam abhıvarṣası* PraśU   *tvam* refers
   to *prāṇa*, the stanza ıs ıdentıcal

kāmam duhātām ıha śakvarībhıh AV   *rāṣṭram duhāthām ıha revatībhıh* TB
   The subject, *dyāvāpṛthıvī*, ıs nom in AV , despıte whıch most of ıts
   mss read *duhāthām* (but Ppp °*tām*).   In TB ıt ıs made voc

gām copasṛṣṭām vıhāram cāntarena mā samcārıṣṭa ApŚ (followed by *ıtı
   sampreṣyatı*). *vıhāram ca gām copasṛṣṭām antarena mā samcārıṣuh*
   MŚ (followed by *ıtı brūyāt*)   '(He orders, or he shall say) "Do
   not (they, the people, shall not) step between the cow   and the
   vıhāra "' '

agnır āyus   tenāyuṣāyuṣmān edhı MS   *agnır āyuṣmān   tasyāyam
   āyuṣāyuṣmān astv asau* KS   And others, see Conc

agne vīhı AB ŚB AŚ MŚ   *agnır hotā vetv*. . TB AŚ ŚŚ

agnıṣ tān asmāt pra nunottu lokāt MŚ   *agnıṣ tān* (VS *tān;* AŚ. *tāl*)
   lokāt pra nudāty (AŚ *nudātv*, SMB *nudatv*) *asmāt* VS ŚB. AŚ.
   ApŚ SMB . *agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ

athemā vıśvāh pṛtanā jayāsı (RV * °*tı*) RV (both) SV AB TB   The
   subject ıs Indra both tımes, tho the context varıes, *jayātı* ıs prob-
   ably secondary   See *RVRep* 397

adıtıh keśān vapatu AG MG ApMB   *adıtıh śmaśru vapatu* AV. MG.
   adıte keśān (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG

antar mahānś caratı (and, °*sı*) *rocanena* RV (both)   Agnı ıs the subject
   both tımes, tho the context varıes

annapate 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehı* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
   PrānāgU   AG ŚG MG ApMB   *annasyānnapatıh prādāt* PB :
   cf *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehı* Kauś

abhı prayānsı sudhıtānı hı khyah (and, *khyat*) RV. (both).   Agnı ıs the
   subject both tımes

ararır (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā paptat* MS KS ApŚ . *araro dıtam mā
   paptah* VS ŚB Vait

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB. ApŚ.: *avasānam me 'vasānapatir vindat* MŚ

avāsṛjat (RV * °*jah*) *sartave sapta sindhūn* RV. (both) AV JUB

avyo (SV. PB. °*yam*) *vāram ni dhāvati* (RV.* °*si*) RV (both) SV. PB : *avyo vāram vi pavamāna dhāvati* (suḍject is here *rasa*) RV.

aśmnāv eha gachatam RV AB AŚ ŚŚ · . *gachatām* (TS TB. °*tam*, in the same stanza) RV TS TB N The subject is nom. with 3d person, voc with 2d

asmabhyam citram vṛṣanam rayim dāh RV. SV. MS TB · *dāt* (but so only p p in MS, its *samhitā* mss *dāh¹*) MS TB Indra is the subject in both, but the stanzas are otherwise different; in the first direct address, in the second indirect reference The *samhitā* mss of MS. were influenced by recollection of the other form of the pāda

kṣeme tiṣṭhāti (ŚG *tiṣṭha*, PG *tiṣṭhatu*, HG *tiṣṭhati*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā* AV ŚG PG. HG. The subject is a house (*śālā*), which is directly addressed in the sequel even in AV. Nevertheless the 3d person is logical and natural, since the house is indirectly referred to in the preceding

(pṛṣṭhena dyāvāpṛthivī (MS adds *āpṛṇa*)] *antarikṣam ca vi bādhase* (MS. *bādhasva*, TS *bādhatām*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB See §116 Addressed to, or said of, one of the altar-bricks The preceding contains an address to Indra-Agni, the sudden shift to a direct address to the brick may have seemed harsh to the redactor of TS, hence his (evidently secondary) change to third person

āsmāsu nṛmnam dhāt MS. TA ŚŚ : *asmāsu nṛmnam dhāh* KB Same context, but KB's version is fragmentary, it contains nothing inconsistent with the 2d person

svāttaṁ cit sadevam havyam āpo devīh svadatainam TS ApŚ *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu* MS : *āpo devīh svadantu* (VSK *sad*°) *svāttam cit sad devahavih* VS. VSK ŚB Subject *āpo devīh*, voc or nom

āyātu varadā devī TAA TA MahānU *āyāhi viraje devi* MG

(abaddham mano) *dīkṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ *hāsīt*) TS KŚ BDh · *(adabdham cakṣur* ·) *dīkṣen* (sc *dīkṣā-id*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ The KŚ reading, with voc subject and 3d person verb, belongs in the next subdivision, but is doubtless corrupt; read probably *dīkṣen* in KŚ Cf however Keith's AA 237, note

(indrah, SV *indra*) *kratum punīta* (SV °*ṣa*) *ukthyam* RV SV *indro vājam ajayit* TS TB . *indra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

uṣnena vāya udakeneht (SMB. GG. *udakenaidht,* ApMB *vāyav udakenehi,*
  MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG. SMB. GG PG. ApMB. MG   On
  the very dubious form of MG see §136
apātām aśvinā gharmam VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ : *gharmam apātam aśvinā*
  (accented in MS! but not in TA ; TA adds *hārdivānam*) MS TA.
  ApŚ : *aśvinā gharmam pātam hārdvānam* (MS *pibatam hārdrānum,*
  TA *pātam hārdivānam,* LŚ. *pātam aharvyānam*) VS MS ŚB. TA.
  ŚŚ LŚ. ApŚ (in the last *aśvinā* is voc in all, this precedes the other
  form of the variant in all)   The MS form of the first-quoted for-
  mula is inconsistent (if not corrupt) and belongs in the next sub-
  division
devān ā sādayād (TB ApŚ °*yā*) *iha* RV VS. KS TB. ApŚ   Agni is the
  subject in both, but the contexts are otherwise different.
nṛmnā punāno arṣasi RV SV.   *nṛmnā vasāno* (SV *punāno*) *arṣati* RV.
  SV.   Subject is Soma Pavamāna both times   Contrast §328
punāno vācam iṣyati (and, °*si*) RV (both)   As in preceding
sāvitrīm bho anu brūhi AG ŚG. ApG MG . *sāvitrīm me bhavān an
  bravītu* GG
madhvā yajñam nakṣati (VS TS. *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prai*°) AV VS
  TS MS KS   Followed by *narāśanso agnih* (VS TS KS *agne*).
  All are consistent except KS , which belongs with the next sub-
  division
syūtā devebhir amṛtenāgāh (MS KS °*gāt*) TS MS KS ApŚ   The
  stanza is radically reconstructed, tho fundamentally the same.
pṛthivi mātar mā mā hiṅsīh . VS TS ŚB ŚŚ.: *mā mām mātā pṛthivī
  hiṅsīt* TS MS
bhavati bhikṣām dehi Kauś : *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG
yudhendro mahnā varivaś cakāra RV AV · *yudhā devebhyo varivaś
  cakartha* RV AV   The subject of *cakartha* is Indra in one (and
  that probably the older one) of the two occurrences in RV., see
  RVRep 87
svayam pibantu (TS *juhudhvam*) *madhuno ghṛtasya* VS TS MS. KS
  SB.
śṛnotu (RV.* *rakṣā ca*) *no damyebhir anīkaih* RV (both) AB. See *RVRep*
  110
rājā pavitraratho vājam āruhah (and, °*hat*), followed by:
sahasrabhṛṣṭir jayasi (and, °*ti*) *śravo bṛhat* RV. (both).   Subject is Soma
  Pavamāna.
yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta evam mahyam pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG.
  °*tah*) *svadhā bhava* (HG. *bhavatām*) ApMB HG   And the same

with *yathā vāyur..* , *yathādityo* Subject is *ūrmıh* (waters offered to the manes), either directly addressed or indirectly referred to

viśvedevāso adhi vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV. TS. *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS *anu tıṣṭhantu*) *meha* AV. KS † 'O All-gods, bless us (me)', or 'let the All-gods protect (attend) us' The All-gods are not otherwise mentioned in the stanza, nevertheless the direct address to them seems rather harsh, hence, no doubt, the change to 3d person in AV KS , and hence, perhaps, Keith's presumably accidental translation (of TS 4 7 14 2d) as 3d person ('may the all-gods befriend me', 'befriend' is not a happy rendering of *adhi-vocatā*).

vy antarıkṣam atirah RV AV *atirat* RV AV SV AB GB AŚ Vait. Subject is Indra, in different stanzas, both consistent

śyeno na vansu ṣīdah RV SV . *śyeno na vikṣu sīdah* RV SV.. *śyeno na vansu kalaśeṣu sīdası* RV. Soma Pavamāna is the subject in all

sam devi (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS *°orvaśyāhhyata*) TS KS ApŚ

sa yajñam pāhı (ŚŚ *pātu*) *sa* (AŚ om) *yajñapatım pāhı* (ŚŚ omits) *sa mām pāhı* (ŚŚ. *pātu*) TB GB AŚ Vait ŚŚ ApŚ

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh TB. ApŚ . *yajñah pratı u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ See §158

mātevāsmā adıte śarma yacha (ŚG. *adıtıh śarma yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB

sahāvaitu jarāyunā ŚB BrhU *saha jarāyunāva sarpatu* (ApMB *°yunā nıṣkramya*) HG ApMB . *sahāvehı jarāyunā* RV *sākam jarāyunā pata* AV The contexts are all similar, and each is internally consistent.

ındrıyam me vīryam mā nır vadhīh (MŚ *vadhıṣṭa*) TS MŚ The subject is soma in either case The variant belongs here if *vadhīh* is 2d person as assumed by Keith on TS 3 1 8 3, but since MŚ has a 3d person, *vadhīh* may also be 3d person as assumed by Caland and Henry, *L'Agnıṣṭoma* 153 (Keith's objection, 1 c , is not valid)

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV *°vah*) *kalpayātı* (RV *°yasva*) RV. AV VS. Context contains *svarād*, nom (in apposition to subject), even in RV , this is doubtless responsible for the lectio facilior of AV. VS , no subject is formally expressed in RV

vājıno vājajıto vājam sarıṣyanto (TS ApŚ add, *vājam jeṣyanto*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajıghrata* VS TS ŚB ApŚ *vājınau vājajıtau vājam jıtvā bṛhaspater bhāgam avajıghratam* (KS *°tām*) MS KS MŚ. The same noun forms, alternatively taken as noms or vocs So also in next

vājıno vājajıto vājam sasṛvānso (KS *jıǧvānso;* TS *sasṛvānso vājam jıgı-*
vānso) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajıghrata nı mṛjānāh* (KS *bhāge nı*
mṛjatām, TS *bhāge nı mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB : *vājınau*
vājajıtau vājam jıtvā bṛhaspater bhāge nımṛjyethām MS MŚ

aram aśvāya gāyatı (SV. °*ta*) RV. SV.   Subject ıs the n pr Śrutakakṣa
ın next pāda, nom ın RV , voc ın SV.   Note plural verb despıte
sıngular subject ın SV

asme dhārayatam (MŚ °*tām*) *rayım* RV. MŚ   *asmaı dhārayatım rayim*
AV   Subject *agnīṣomā,* orıgınally voc , felt as nom ın MŚ

om utsṛjata (MG. °*tu*) TA ŚŚ AG PG ApMB ApG. HG. MG.
utsṛja (LŚ °*jata*) *gām* LŚ SMB GG See §347

ṛtunā somam pıbatam (KS °*tu,* MŚ † °*tām*) KS MŚ. ApŚ.   Subject
Aśvıns ın ApŚ MŚ (nom or voc), ın KS a prıest

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthıto net* (MŚ. na) *tvā jahāmı* (KS °*nı*) AV.
KS. MŚ : *mā no hāsīn metthıto net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ   *mā no*
hınsīd dhınsıto na tvā jahāmı AŚ   The subject, ın prec , ıs nom ın
all, but the rest of the verse, ıncludıng the latter part of thıs varıant
(note *tvā*), ıs thrown ınto a dırect address ın 2d person, and MŚ.
assımılates ıts *hāsīs* to thıs, ınstead of *hāsīt*   Neıther form can
therefore be called ınconsıstent wıth the context

asau yaja AŚ *asau yajate*   LŚ

bhuvad vıśvam abhy ādevam ojasā RV   *bhuvo vıśvam abhy adevam ojasā*
SV.   Subject ıs Indra   Preceded by dırect address ın 2d person,
but followed by reference ın 3d person , thus neıther form ıs ıncon-
sıstent wıth surroundıngs

aśvınā bhıṣajāvatah (MS °*tam,* TB † °*ta*) VS MS TB.   See §116

yā (AV. TS *yāv*) *ātmanvad bıbhṛto* (KS † °*tho,* AV *vṛṣatho*) *yau ca*
rakṣatah (KS † AV °*thah*) AV TS. MS KS   Followed ın same
texts by·

yaṃ vıśvasya parıbhū (KS *vıśvasyādhıpā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °*tuh*)
These are pādas b and c of a verse ın whıch the subjects, Vāyu and
Savıtar, are ın all texts referred to ın 3d person ın a, and dırectly
addrest ın d   Therefore no text ıs completely consıstent ın the
verse, and the varıant pādas are ın every case consıstent wıth a
part of the context

śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA °*tha,* MG °*ntu*) *yajñıyāsah* RV TA MG
Also ın pāda a MG recasts the expressıon to make the verb 3d
person ınstead of 2d, ıt ıs ınternally consıstent, altho secondary
and poor

ımam no yajñam vıhave juṣasva (AV *śṛnotu*) RVKh AV TS KS TB.

The AV is consistent with the prec half verse (3d person); the others, with the following pāda (direct address in all). Subject Indra.

rāyas poṣaṁ (KS *tvaṣṭah poṣāya*) *vi syatu* (AV MS KS. *vi sya*) *nābhim asme* (AV. *asya*) AV. VS. TS MS KS TB ApŚ. The subject, Tvaṣṭar, is nom with 3d person, voc. with 2d. On the dual form of the variant (*viṣyatām*) see §368

§330. With accompanying change in number.

prathamam artim yuyotu nah MG · *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG : *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB The subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB *tena brāhmano vapatu* MG *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB 'By that (razor), O priests, shave his (head) here' or 'by that let the priest shave (him)', or (a kind of *ūha* in ApMB) 'by that shave thou his (head) unto long life '

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (AŚ *sambhavatām*, MŚ *saṁbharetām*) TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ addrest to god Agni (2d sing), in AŚ. MŚ subject is two fires (3d dual)

rājānaṁ samgāyata (PG °*yetām*) ŚG PG. Stenzler renders PG. as a direct address, as if °*gāyethām* were the reading, tho he quotes no such reading There seems to be no reason why the two lute-players should not be referred to in the 3d person: 'let them sing of the king ' In ŚG a plurality of lute-players is directly addrest

salakṣmā (MS. KS °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB. °*paṁ*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV. VS MS. KS ŚB. *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bharatha* TS See §104, h In the YV. texts used of the animal victim, who is addressed in the sequel, hence the change to 2d person in TS , which is however evidently secondary.

anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām MS.. *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām* (KS °*patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB.* °*patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB. (bis) Vait See §130.

§331. There are a few variants in which a verb in a relative clause is alternatively made 3d person, because of the relative pronoun serving as subject, tho the person referred to is still directly addrest This psychological shift is familiar in other languages:

yā tiraści nipadyase (AŚ ŚŚ. SMB. °*te*) ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. ŚŚ SMB. ApMB. HG. The same person is directly addrest in all: 'thou who liest (lies) down across . '

ya ājagma (N °*muh*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam ıdam*,
VS. MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS.
ŚB N. '(O gods) who have come' etc , gods are directly addrest ın
all   Only N makes verb 3d person, because of the relatıve

yad aıṣı manasā dūram PG : *ya eiı pradıśah sarvāh* ApMB   The subject
ıs addressed ın the 2d persen (pronoun *tvā*) ın the sequel even in
ApMB , the thırd person ıs due to the relatıve   'Who goest (or,
ıf thou goest) to all dırectıons (to a dıstance wıth thy mınd)' ıs
the real meanıng of both

yā rājānā (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS
'(O Mıtra-Varuna,) who go, two kıngs, mıghty, against the (war-
rıor) wıth hıs charıot (or, who go, mıghty, against the kıng wıth hıs
charıot)'—[do ye free us from sın]

Possıbly the followıng also belongs here

mā yah somam ımam pıbāt (KŚ *pıbā*, KS *somam pıbād ımam*) KS TB
KŚ. ApŚ   See §319   The next pāda begıns wıth s, possıbly
pıbāh (ıf not even *pıbāt*) is to be read ın KŚ   If the text ıs correct,
of course *pıbā* ıs 1st person, not 2d

§332. (b) There remaın a number of cases of thıs same sort ın whıch
one form of the varıant ıs more or less ınconsıstent wıth ıts own context
Thus, fırst, there are cases ın whıch thırd-person verbs are used altho
the subject ıs vocatıve, or ıs referred to wıth second-person pronouns,
poıntıng to dırect address   These cases, naturally, tempt to emenda-
tıon, but probably the temptatıon should usually be resısted, as ıt
certaınly should ın the followıng verse of PG   Such thırd-person verbs
occur no less than three tımes ın ıt, and are translated by Stenzler as
second-persons, altho he very properly dıd not venture to emend hıs
text ın vıew of the ınsıstent tradıtıon   The comm supplıes *bhavantau*,
and thıs famılıar classıcal thırd-personal expressıon for what ıs really a
dırect address ıs, no doubt, ınfluentıal ın many of these expressıons ın
later texts   Cf. *bhavatı bhıkṣām dehı* (*bhavān bhıkṣām dadātu*), §329

yena strıyam (PG *śrıyam*) *akrnutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *strıyāv akurutam*),
yenāpāmrśatam (PG °*vamrśatām*) *surām, yenākṣān* (ŚŚ °*kṣām*, PG
°*kṣyāv*) *abhyasıñcatam* (PG °*tām*), *yad vām tad aśvınā yaśah*, ŚŚ PG
SMB   The fırst pāda also GG (readıng as SMB), the thırd also
AV , readıng *yenākṣā abhyaṣıcyanta* (the dıce are made the subject
of the now passıve verb)   See §293

Or, conversely, one form of the varıant has a 2d person verb wıth a
nomınatıve subject, as

tā enam pravidvānsau śrapayatam MS : *tāv imam paśum śrapayatām pravidvānsau* TB   Not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects in the prec , are nom in MS.

mā no gharma vyathito vivyadhīt (TA *vivyatho nah*) MS TA · *mā nah soma hvarito vihvarasva* MŚ   (so read, see §159), followed in same verse by:

mo ṣvatvam asmān tarādhāt (so read with p p) MS   *mā sv* (Poona ed. *mo ṣv*) *asmāns tamasy antar ādhāh* TA   *mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt* (mss *ādāt*) MŚ   In view of the voc *gharma* (*soma*), it would appear that MS MŚ must understand the subject to be indefinite; but it can hardly be anything else than the *gharma*   The formula is a *prāyaścitta* spoken upon ominous performance of the *gharma* or *soma*-offering

adabdho gopāh (KS † *gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS *pari pātu viśvatah*) RV TS KS · *tvam no gopāh pari pāhi viśvatah* AV.   The subject (in prec pāda) is *agne* RV AV , *agnir* TS KS ; TS is inconsistent (2d person with subject nom)

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravinam vīrapeśāh* RV TS   The subject being *agnir*, TS is inconsistent, but note the following *dr-*, and cf §24.

sṛjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV · *sṛjo vi dhārā ava dānavam. han* RV N   The subject is *indra*, voc , even in SV , and the prec. parallel verbs are 2d person.

kadā sutam tṛṣāna oka ā gamam (SV *gamat*) RV. SV AV   ʹThe subject is the voc *indra*, followed by *sv-* and perhaps felt as nom (for *indrah*) in SV?   Benfey baldly translates 3d person verb with voc. subject

devebhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan* RV AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TB   Vait. MŚ Kauś. MG · *devebhyo havyam vaha nah* (Kauś omits *nah*) *prajānan* TB. AŚ   ŚŚ. ApŚ Kauś   There are three different contexts here, one with the second variant, and two with the first   All are consistent with their contexts except that MŚ   alone has the form *vahatu* with a preceding voc subject

patyur janitvam abhi sam babhūtha (TA *babhūva*) RV AV TA.   See §262, f   The subject is *tvam*, and TA. comm glosses *babhūva* with a 2d person

pitā mātariśvāchidrā padā dhāh (KS AŚ *dhāt*) TS KS AB AŚ. 5. 9. 1. In TS AB nom subject with 2d person verb; KS AŚ are consistent.

vy astabhnā (VS. ŚB. *aska°*, MS *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣṭa°*, TS. *aṣṭabhnād*, TA. *asṭabhnāā*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VS MS. KS *viṣṇa*, TS. *riṣṇur*) etc. followed by.

dādhartha (TS *·dādhāra*) *pṛthivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ* RV. VS TS MS. KS ŚB TA. The prec half verse is addrest to Heaven and Earth; hence, no doubt, TS. changes these pādas to a 3d person reference to Viṣṇu, which seems less harsh than a direct address to him. TA. has a blend, being internally inconsistent, or at least harsh; despite the voc subject and the 2d person verb retained in pāda d, it joins TS in having a 3d person verb in pāda c.

tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya draviṇehāgameḥ, etc (see § 104, u). Here all forms of the variant are self-consistent (nom. with 3d person, voc with 2d) except MS, which has *draviṇāgamyāt*; its p p reads *drāviṇa* (accented[1]): is this form possibly felt as a nom pl neuter, with sing verb? The following parallel formulas in MS have 3d person verbs with nom. subjects

yamasya dūtaś ca rāg vidhāvati (TA. *dūtaḥ śrapād ridhāvasi*): followed by:

gṛdhrah suparnah kuṇapaṁ niṣevati (TA.ṭ *niṣevase*) MS TA The TA. comm regards the *gṛdhra* as addrest, despite the nom form.

[*viśtasya devī mṛcayasya* (ŚŚ *mṛśayasya*) *janmano*] *na yā roṣāti na grabhat* (ŚŚ *grabhah*) AB AŚ ŚŚ 'The goddess of the imperishable (?) kind, who shall not be angry, shall not (or, do not) seize us' Keith takes *grabhat* as part of the relative clause, which leaves no main verb in the passage; it seems better to regard *grabhat* as the main verb with subject *devī* It may be that the original reading was *devi* (voc), followed by *grabhah*, and that *grabhat* is due to secondary form assimilation to *roṣāti*, whose 3d personal form is justified by the relative (cf §331) As it stands, ŚŚ is inconsistent, since the only possible subject for its 2d person verb is nominative.

ajātaśatruḥ syonā no astu TS MS AŚ : *ajātaśatrus suharo na edhi* KS. The subjects (a series of nouns, in the preceding) are all noms ; KS is harsh

yajamānāya draviṇam dadhātu (VS. ŚB KS * *dadhāta*) AV VS. VSK TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. The subject is nominative, and parallel clause 3d person, in all. On the plural see § 355

hato (SV. TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV. TB *aprati*) RV AV. SV. TB The AV. variant is inconsistent as between subject and person of the verb, see §329.

sa no mayobhūḥ pito (*pitar*) *āviśasta* (*āviścha;* MŚ *pitur āviveśa*) TS TB.

AŚ. MŚ ŚG SMB. PG. *sa nah pito madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś.
Voc. with 2d person verb in all but MŚ. Kauś in MŚ. nom with
3d person (equally consistent); in Kauś, however, if the text is
right, we have voc with 3d person verb! See §69

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (°*se*) *prīnānah* (*prai°*) AV VS TS. MS KS
    See § 329 KS is inconsistent

imau vīryam (TB *rayim*) *yajamānāya dhattām* (TB *dhattam*) MS. TB.
The 2d person of TB is inconsistent with its nom subject, *aśvinā*
(accented) The comm finds no difficulty in ignoring the accent
and taking it as voc But in the next pāda occurs a parallel verb
rakṣatām, with the same subject Even this does not disturb the
comm, who calmly interprets it as if it were 2d person (*sarvato
bhayāt pālayatam*) In truth, of course, it is rather *dhattam* which
must be an error for 3d person *dhattām*

śarad dhemantah suvite dadhāta (MŚ °*tu*) KS MŚ : *śarad varṣāh
suvitam* (ŚG *sukṛtam*) *no astu* (AV *svite no dadhāta*) AV TS ŚG.
SMB In AV. KS the six season-names which precede are directly
addressed in 2d person, tho they are nom in form, not voc Doubt-
less for this reason MŚ substitutes a 3d person, and since the 3d
plural would not fit metrically, makes it singular, agreeing with the
nearest of the six subjects, see § 355 The other texts dodge the
difficulty by making *suvitam* the subject of a copulaic verb, *astu*

deveṣu nah sukṛto (VSK *deveṣu mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ
brūyāt) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt* (ŚB
with ūha, *voceh*) VS ŚB *sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS A 2d person
is required, and PB comm reads *brūtāt*, probably MŚ (in an un-
published part of the text) is likewise to be read *brūtāt*

vider (VS KS ŚB *vided*) *agnir* (VSK ŚBK *agner*, MS MŚ. *agne*)
nabho nāma VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚBK MŚ See Keith on
TS 1 2. 12 1, note 2 The TS is inconsistent (2d person verb
with nom subject) The others all rectify the syntax by one
change or another

mā no dyāvāpṛthivī hīdiṣethām MS *mā dyāvāpṛthivī hīdiṣātām* TA In
MS. as well as TA *dyāvāpṛthivī* is nom (accented), and the pre-
ceding parallel pāda is in the 3d person

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB *akṛnoh sūryatvacam* RV AV. JB · *avakṛ-
not sūryatvacam* MG The subject, in the preceding pāda, is
indra (voc) in all but MG, even ApMB 1 1 9 reads so, despite 3d
person verb, cf Winternitz, Introduction, p xvi And indeed even
MG, tho it makes the subject nom, *indras*, to agree with the 3d

person verb, still retains the voc epithet *śatakrato* in pāda b,
agreeing with it!   Only RV. AV. JB are really grammatical

*brahma tena punīhi nah   (mā; punātu mā, punīmahe), idam brahma
punīmahe,* see §302.

(abaddham mano .) dīkṣe mā mā hāsīḥ (KŚ. *hāsīt,* corrupt?) TS KŚ
BDh : *(adabdhaṁ cakṣur .) dīkṣen mā mā hāsīt.* .MŚ   The KŚ
is inconsistent

§333. (c) In a very large number of other cases, while there is no
inconsistency between the case of the subject and the person of the
verb, we note more or less inconsistency between the person of the verb
and the surrounding context, in one form of the variant   (See §294)
That is, for instance, in a passage containing several parallel verbs with
the same subject, one is suddenly shifted from 2d to 3d person, or vice
versa   Or, a 3d person verb is found when in an adjoining passage
direct address to the subject is indicated by a 2d person pronoun, or the
like   The result is a more or less harsh anacolouthon   This condition
is not by any means always secondary, indeed, it happens very fre-
quently that the anacolouthic syntax appears to characterize the older
form of the variant, and a later text smoothes it out by a change of
person in one verb

§334. In half a dozen cases, however, of verbs of which Soma is the
subject, and which in the RV are third person, and occur in the context
of other (parallel) third-person expressions, the SV. changes the 3d per-
son to 2d, producing a direct address to Soma which is inconsistent with
the context (cf. above §§295, 328):

adhi triprṣṭha uṣaso vi rājati (SV. °*si*) RV SV.   The subject, soma, is
spoken of in the 3d person in the preceding even in SV.

āpṛchyam dharunam vājy arṣati (SV. °*si*) RV. SV.   The subject, soma, is
referred to in the 3d person in the prec pāda

punāno vāram pary eti (SV. *vāram aty eṣy*) *aryayam* RV. SV. ApŚ
The subject, soma, is referred to in 3d person in the 1st half of the
same verse

viśvā yad rūpā pariyāty (SV °*sy*) *ṛkvabhih* RV SV.   Otherwise 3d per-
son in the verse.

vṛthā pājānsi kṛnute (SV °*ṣe*) *nadīṣv ā* (RV.† once omits *ā*) RV. (bis)
SV.   Otherwise 3d persons in the verse

arṣan (SV. *arṣā*) *mitrasya varunasya dharmanā* RV SV   Parallel verb
in the preceding is 3d person in both.

§335. In two cases, however, the reverse change takes place in SV
in verbs of which Soma is the subject, there are special reasons for both

vṛṣo acikradad vane SV. 2. 430b, 480b: *vṛṣāva cakradad* (9. 107. 22b *cakrado) vane* RV. 9. 7 3b, 9. 107 22b   In SV 2 430b = RV. 9. 107 22b Soma is addressed in the latter part of the stanza, yet he is here referred to ın the 3d person ın SV., probably under the ınfluence of the parallel passage 2 480b = RV 9 7. 3b, whıch has 3d person in both texts

pṛṣṭheṣv erayā (SV. *airayad) rayım* RV SV   Here RV ıs ınconsistent; the subject, Soma, ıs the subject of a 3d person verb ın the next pāda. In SV. thıs is smoothed out

§336. We may note that ıt is only Soma for whıch SV. seems to feel thıs urge towards dırect address, e g , ın the followıng, where the Maruts are the subject, SV changes secondarıly a 2d person address to a 3d person reference, despıte dırect address to the Maruts ın the precedıng: *viśve pıbata* (SV. *pıbantu) kāmınah* RV SV

§337. The long list of remaınıng cases ıs as follows

yat sānoh sānum āruhat (SV *sānv āruhah)* RV SV   The subject is Indra, who is otherwıse spoken of ın the 3d person even ın SV.; the next pāda is *bhūrı aspaṣta kartvam*   'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor ' A 2d person verb here is intolerably harsh, one ıs tempted to guess that SV felt *āruhah* as a verbal noun, dependent on *aspaṣta* (!). Thıs would perhaps be no worse than other forms of whıch SV ıs guılty   But probably ıt merely shifts to dırect address to Indra, see § 294

yena bhūyaś (PG *bhūrıś) carātı ayam* (AG *ca rātryam,* MG. *caratı ayam,* PG. *carā dıvam), jyok ca paśyātı* (PG *°sı,* MG *°yatı) sūryam* (MG. *°yah)* AG PG. ApMB MG   The subject ıs the boy in the shaving rite (except that MG. makes ıt *sūryah* ın the 2d pāda; perhaps also in the first? doubtful), he ıs addrest ın the 2d person ın the rest of the verse ın AG PG MG , spoken of ın the 3d ın ApMB As to persons, PG and ApMB are consıstent; AG flagrantly ınconsistent, MG. patches together a makeshıft readıng, keepıng 3d person but changing the subject

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ *°yāv) abhūtām* (MS. *°thām)·* and (ın same verse) *dur* (KS *dve) jyotır ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam) ārabhetām* (MS KS. *°thām)* MS KS † TB ApŚ. In prec pāda both MS. and KS have the 3d person *gachatām,* both are therefore inconsistent   On *abhūthām* (mıddle!) see §§21, 56

antaś caratı (MahānU PrānāgU. *°sı) bhūteṣu* TA. TAA. MahānU. PrānāgU. LVyāsaDh ŚankhaDh   The subject (*paramātmā,* TA. comm) ıs addrest ın the second person ın the 2d half of the verse

samprıyah paśubhır bhava (TB ApŚ *bhʊvat*) MS TB ApŚ. *samprıyam prajayā paśubhır bhuvat* TA   The subject (Agnı) ıs referred to ın the 3d person even ın MS ın the precedıng

vıśvo (TS *vıśve*) *rāya ıṣudhyatı* (TS °*sı*) RV VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Both varıatıons ın TS are corrupt, see Keıth (p 21, n. 3), who translates the RV readıng   As K remarks, the 2d person ıs apparently ıntended to match *puṣyase* ın the next lıne, but thıs ıs an ınfinıtıve, not a finıte form

mā no hṛṇīlām atıthır (SV *hṛnāthā atıthım*) *vasur agnıh* RV SV   The subject can only be Agnı ın SV , whıch seems to understand the last two words as a separate sentence 'Be not ashamed of our guest (O Agnı!), Agnı ıs good'

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS *'dhvare sthāh*, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ   'The offerıng has stood up-rıght', or (KS) 'thou (Agnı) hast stood uprıght at the offerıng', or (ApŚ) 'he (Agni, who ıs dırectly addrest ın both the precedıng and followıng) has stood' etc   Caland assumes *'sthāh* as the true read-ıng of ApŚ

sā nah payasvatī duhām (TS PG *dhukṣva*, MS *duhe*, SMB *duhā?*) RV AV TS MS KS SMB PG   The subject (*eḷāṣtaḷā*) ıs spoken of ın the 3d person ın the 1st half of the same verse even ın TS PG , whıch here aodress ıt dırectly   For the doubtful readıng of MS SMB see §104, b

subheṣajam yathāsatı (AV °*sı*, LŚ *yathāsat*) AV TS MS KS LŚ   Dıfferent contexts, but, as Whıtney remarks ad loc , the 3d person would suıt better ın AV

tat satyam yad vīram bıbhṛthah (MŚ † °*tah*), *vīram janayıṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah*), *te mat prātah prajanayıṣyethe* (MŚ °*te*), *te mā prajāte prajan-ayıṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah prajayā paśubhıh*) TB ApŚ MŚ   Preceded, even ın MŚ , by a dırect address ın 2d person

(ındraś ca nah śunāsīrāv) ımam yajñam mımıkṣatam (ŚŚ °*tām*) TB ŚŚ   Followed by *garbham* (ŚŚ °*ān*) *dhattam svastaye*, so that ŚŚ ıs ınconsıstent   Its readıng ıs evıdently a remınıscence of the form of the pāda whıch occurs elsewhere, ın a dıfferent context, wıth *mımıkṣatām;* see §341

arakṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (TS MS *juṣasva*, KS *juṣethāh*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB   See §160   In the followıng 2 pādas Agnı ıs referred to ın 3d person

ımam yajñam abhı gṛṇīta vıśve RV VS · *ıdam no kavır abhı gṛnantu vıśve* AV   The subject ıs the *pıtṛs*, who are addrest ın the next lıne ın the 2d person even ın AV , and AV comm reads *gṛṇīta* here

nātārīd (TB *°rīr*) *asya samṛtim vadhānām* (TB *ba°*) RV. TB The
   parallel verbs are all 3d person, TB. comm. glosses *na prāptavān*

niṣīdan no apa durmatim jahi (TS. *hanat*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB The
   subject is understood as Agni The first part of the verse refers to
   him in 3d person and is directly addrest to plants, the majority of
   the texts change to a 2d person address to Agni, while TS. alone,
   more consistently but presumably secondarily, continues the
   indirect reference

parāvata ā jaganthā (AV. *jagamyāt*, TS *jagāmā*) *parasyāh* RV. AV. SV.
   VS MS KS. Subject Indra, who in the following is addrest in
   2d person in all

pitarah pitāmahāh pare 'vare tatās tatāmahā iha māvata (PG. *māvantu*)
   TS PG. The last of a series of similar formulas, the preceding
   ones are 3d person in both texts

purā gṛdhrād araruṣah pibātah (TB. *pibāthah*) RV. MS TB In the
   following TB also has 3d person verb

prādāh (SMB *prādāt*) *pitṛbhyah svadhayā te akṣan* RV. AV. VS TS. ApŚ.
   SMB Subject Agni, addrest in 2d person thruout the verse in most
   texts, but in SMB only in the last pāda; in this (the 3d) pāda, and
   in the 1st (which is a different one from that of the other texts), it
   has 3d person forms, in the 2d pāda the form is ambiguous (either
   2d or 3d).

mā mā hinsīt (VS † KS ŚB *hinsīh*) VS TS KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ Prec.
   by *mā tvā hinsīt* (KS ms *hinsīh*) In the Tait. school texts the
   verb-form is mechanically assimilated to the preceding, just as in
   the one ms of KS the form of the prec verb is assimilated to the
   following (properly emended by von Schroeder, since the object
   tvā makes 2d person verb obviously impossible) Subject *kṛṣṇājina*
   (Mahīdhara on VS).

yathā jyok sumanā asāh (HG *asat*) ApMB HG The prec formula
   addresses the boy in 2d person even in HG.

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS *°thād*) *dravineha dhattāt* RV. MS KS AB. TB.
   N. In KS inconsistent with context, see §24

vākpā vācam me pāhi (MS *pātu*) TS MS AB AŚ And the same with
   śrotrapāh śrotram, cakṣuṣpāh etc *vākpāh* is nom , which makes 3d
   person at least easier, and the prec is a 3d person statement in TS.

viśvasmā id iṣudhyate (TB *°se*) RV. TB Followed by·

devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (RV. *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV. (bis) SV TB On the
   relation of the RV forms see *RVRep* 131f The SV. occurrences
   repeat RV 8 19 1 (which has *ohire*) but seem influenced by RV.

1 128 6 (*ohīṣe*)   TB repeates RV 1 128 6 but makes it more
natural, *ohīṣc* (p p *ā ūhīṣc*) is surrounded by 3d person verbs
referring to the same subject (Agni), so that attempts have even
been made to explain *ohīṣe* as an infinitive (see *RVRep.* loc cit,
and Oldenberg's *RVNoten* ad loc)   In TB the whole passage is
made a direct address to Agni—a much easier reading

śarma varūtham āsadat svah (TS *āsadah suvah*) VS TS MS KS SB   In
TS the verb is assimilated to the person of the 2d half-verse, where
Agni is directly addrest in all.   Tho more consistent, it is doubtless
secondary

jayanta upaspṛśatu HG : *jayantopa spṛśa* ApMB   Only HG. is con-
sistent with parallel formulas in the context, which even in ApMB,
are 3d person

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (AV *bhaveha*) AV TS MS.   Subject is a
king, equated with Indra, in 1st half verse all texts refer to him in
3d person, here AV changes to direct address (AV 3 4 1 has the
same pāda in a different context.)

anu (AV *prati) *dyāvāpṛthivī ā tatantha* (AV *viveśa, AV *TS *TB *tatāna*)
RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB   Occurs in two different
verses; one (A) is addrest to Soma, with verbs in 2d person, the
other (B) refers to Agni, with verbs in 3d person   Only A occurs in
RV, only B in AV TB, both occur in VS TS MS KS, but VS
MS KS read in B the 2d person form taken from, and appropriate
to, A, while only TS keeps the distinct forms appropriate to each

andhena yat (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA *°āsi*) AV TA.   The
subject (acc to both comms a cow, but see Whitney's note on
AV 18 3 3) is referred to in the 1st half verse in 3d person in both
texts

āṣṭa (MS KS *āṣṭhāh*) *pratiṣṭhām avidad dhi* (MS *avido hi*, KS *avido nu*)
gādham TS MS KS PG   So the Conc   The subject, Viśvavedas,
is referred to in the prec pāda in the 3d person in TS KS (while in
MS he is directly addrest)   If, as we believe, the Conc presents the
true text of KS, it alone of the texts is inconsistent with its sur-
roundings   The matter is, however, not certain   The single ms of
KS is quoted as reading *āṣṭāh* and *avde*, which seem most likely to
represent *āṣṭhāh* and *avdo*, but von Schroeder (doubtless for the
sake of consistency with the context) emends, overboldly as it
seems, to *āṣṭa* and *avdan*

ganān me mā vi tītṛṣah (MŚ *°sat*) TS MŚ   'Do not (let him not) make
my troops thirsty '   Only the 2d person is proper, referring to Indra,

to whom the whole verse is addrest. Knauer on MŚ. 2 4 1. 35b
defends °ṣat of all his mss by supposing it to refer to Vāyu, under-
stood.   In the same context. *ganān me mā vy arīriṣah* Vait   In
different contexts: *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TB ŚB., *ganair mā mā
vi tītṛṣata* MS. 'Let not my troops be thirsty' or 'make me not
thirsty with my troops', shift between causative and simple verbs,
with consequent inversion of subject and object

abhi no vīro arvati kṣameta RV. TB : *tvam no vīro arvati kṣamethāh* AB.
In a repetition of the RV. stanza, in which the subject (Rudra) is
addrest with 2d person verbs in the preceding pādas, AB makes this
pāda consistent with them

ā yantu pitaro manojavasah ApŚ   *eta pitaro manojavāḥ*, and: *āganta
pitaro manojavāh* MŚ. (in same sūtra)· *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ
pareta) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS. ApŚ *somyāh*) TS MS KS AŚ. MŚ.
ApŚ (in different context from the above in ApŚ , but in the same
context, separated by one sūtra, from *eta* etc in MŚ , in the next
sūtra but one MŚ has a 3d person reference to the same subject,
śundhantām pitarah, thus shifting from 2d to 3d person)

ṛtūnr (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj jāyate punah* (AV *jāyase navah*) RV AV.
MS TB   Preceded by the correlate· *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣte* (so
AV., the others similarly).   Said of the sun and moon respectively
The change to direct address in AV. is harsh and is pretty surely a
mere corruption; the comm reads *jāyate*

tena mā saha śundhata (AV *śumbhantu*) RV AV   The waters seem to
be addressed in RV ; they are referred to in 3d person in the preced-
ing   The AV. reading is uncertain, SPP adopts *śumbhatu*, and so
Whitney's Translation , see §360

divo jyote (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya* . *āsuvadhvam* KS · *devajūte
vivasvann āditya*. .*āsuvadhvam* MS : *vivasvān aditir devajūtis
vyantu* TS   Two parallel pādas preceding have *vyantu* with nom
subject in MS KS also

yo devānāṁ carasi prānathena VS MS. KS ŚB   *devānām yaś carati
prā°* TS   Here, paradoxically, it is the 2d person of most texts which
is inconsistent with the 2d (not 3d) person verb of the preceding
line, for the subjects of the two must be different, being masc and
fem respectively   Doubtless this is the reason for TS's change to
3d person here, and for its further change in the next pāda (*devi*
for *deva*), which makes the entire stanza addrest to the feminine
entity mentioned in the first half.   TS is, of course, secondary

yasmād bhīta udavāsiṣṭa (and, *udavepiṣṭa*) MŚ : *yasmād bhīṣāvāśiṣṭhāh*

(and, *bhīṣāvepiṣṭhāḥ*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ Surrounding and parallel
formulas (addresst to the animal victim) are 2d person even in
MŚ

aśvināv eha gachatām (TS TB *°tam*) RV TS TB. N *áśvināv* is voc in
TS TB, *aśvínāv* nom in RV. The same pāda with *°tam* (and
aśvínāv) in RV. and other texts, in a direct address to the Aśvins,
who are here (in RV) referred to in the 3d person, the stanza being
addrest to a priest (the *adhvaryu* according to comm on RV, the
hotar according to that on TB). The preceding pāda in TB as
well as RV. is: *prātaryujā* (= *aśvinnau*) *vi bodhaya*. TS. changes
this to *°yujau vi mucyethām*, making it also a direct address to the
Aśvins. TB is inconsistent in that the first pāda is addrest to a
priest and refers to the Aśvins in 3d person, while the second
addresses them directly. TS by its further change in the first pāda
restores consistency No doubt the 2d person form of the second
pāda is due to influence of the other form of the variant with *gach-
atam*, in a different stanza in RV

iyaty agra āsīt (KS TA ApŚ *āsīḥ*) VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ In
two different stanzas (used in similar connexions), one in KS ApŚ,
the other in the remaining texts The KS ApŚ stanza is consist-
ently in the 2d person, according to ApŚ addrest partly to a lump
of earth, partly to pebbles The other stanza likewise refers to a
lump of earth, which is addrest directly in the next pāda in MS at
any rate (with vocative *devi*), and according to Mahīdhara also in
VS, M thus interprets the pronoun *te*, as referring to the earth,
with *āsīt* Mahīdhara supplies *bhavatī*, taking the whole as direct
address There is, then, inconsistency between the two pādas in
VS MS In TA, which has the same context as VS MS, this
inconsistency is removed by changing *āsīt* into a 2d person

iṣaṁ lokāya no dadhat (KS *dadhaḥ*) RV SV KS., and AVPpp in its
version of AV 7 20 2, see Whitney's note on this The RV SV
passage is not pertinent since *dadhat* is a participle; the context is
different But both KS and AVPpp have finite verb forms, the
stanza in them is otherwise a direct address, and AVPpp is therefore
inconsistent In both the next pāda reads.

pra na (MS *na*) *āyūṁṣi tāriṣaḥ* (AVPpp MŚ KS mss. *°ṣat*) AVPpp VS,
TS KS ŚŚ N See preceding (In all but AVPpp KS MS
the preceding pāda is different) This pāda, with *tāriṣat*, is
found repeatedly in other contexts (see Conc), in most of which the
3d person is appropriate Doubtless the reading with *tāriṣat* here

(and probably in AV. 4. 10. 6e, where a 2d person also seems, required) is due to contamination with that form of the phrase.

ṛdhag ayā (TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *ṛdhag utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*śamiṣṭa*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB N.: *dhruvam ayā dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* RV.: *dhruvam ayo dhruvam utā śaviṣṭha* AV. The forms *ayā*(s) and *ayād* are both 2d persons; but because the latter looks more like a 3d person, MS. KS secondarily make the following verb 3d person, despite direct address in the preceding and following pādas. On the corrupt version of AV. see Whitney on 7. 97. 1.

citrebhir abhrair upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. °*to*) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by:
dyām varṣayatho (MS °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS The preceding pādas speak of the subject (*mitrāvarunau*) in the 3d person; hence the change to 3d person in MS , which makes the syntax smoother. Nevertheless MS p.p reads *varṣayathaḥ*.

dhartā divo rajaso vibhāti dhartā (TA. *divo vibhāsi rajasaḥ*; VS. ŚB. *divo vibhāti tapasas pṛthivyām*) VS. MS. ŚB TA. The context has a parallel verb *yacha*.

dhruvaidhi poṣyā (PG °*ye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. The AV. is inconsistent, for the woman referred to by *iyam* is addressed in 2d person in the rest of the stanza.

aredatā (*ahe*°, see §160) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Parallel verbs are 3d person in all.

janiṣta (TS °*ṣvā*, MS °*ṣva*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS KS The subject is Agni, referred to in 3d person by all in the sequel.

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB °*yet*) AB. GB Direct address in the preceding in both Gaastra considers GB corrupt

marya iva yuvatibhiḥ sam arṣati (AV. *iva yoṣāḥ sam arṣase*) RV. SV. AV. Parallel verbs in the preceding are 3d person in all

namo viśvakarmaṇe sa u pātv asmān TS. MŚ : *viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān* AV. Preceding parallel is 3d person in AV.

muñcatu (KS. *muñcemam*) *yajñam* (ApŚ. *yajño*; KS adds *muñca*) *yajñapatim anhasaḥ svāhā* MS. KS. ApŚ 3d person forms are used in parallel formulas in KS

meṣa iva vai sam ca vi corv acyase AV.: *meṣa iva yad upa ca vi ca carvati* (ApŚ. erroneously, *carvari*) KS. ApŚ 3d person forms in the rest of AV.; but the stanza is very obscure.

vaptā (ApMB. *vaptrā*; HG MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG °*ti*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG MG. The fourth pāda has 2d person verb in all; the 3d person of PG. is evidently due

to the nom *vaptā*, felt as subject, tho in the original form (AV) it is merely appositional to the subject   Note that HG MG also feel this as inconsistent, and try to smooth out the syntax by the converse change of *vaptā* to voc *vaptar*; while ApMB has an instrumental *vaptrā*

sam gachatām (RV * *gachasva*) *tanvā* (TA *tanuvā*) *suvarcāh* (RV * TA *jātavedah*) RV (bis) AV (bis) TA   In AV 18 3 58 is repeated RV 10 14 8, with change in this pāda of *gachasva* to *gachatām*, which is inconsistent with the rest of the stanza in which the dead man is directly addrest   The change is obviously due to the influence of the very similar pāda RV 10 16 5d = AV 18 2 10d (this also in TA), which has, consistently, *gachatām*   Note that conversely AV substitutes *suvarcāh* of 18 3 58d = RV 10 14 8d for *jātavedah* of RV 10 16 5d, thus making the two pādas exactly alike

sam (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV ApMB See Winternitz, p xx of ApMB Introduction, *hathah* is senseless

sarvam tad asmān mā hinsīh (HG *hinsīt*) ApŚ HG   Parallel verbs are 3d person, there is no doubt of the inferiority of ApŚ , which Caland translates by a 3d person

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*; MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ   The subject is Soma, who is addrest directly in the preceding formulas

trīn samudrān samasrpat svargān (MS °*gah*) VS MS ŚB   *samsarpa* (KS °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ The subject is addrest in 2d person (*gacha*) in the last part of the stanza in all, and ApŚ , secondarily no doubt, makes *samsarpa* consistent with this   Mahīdhara on VS ⁻ understands even *samasrpat* as direct address (*he kūrma yo bhavān . . samasrpat*), but the only exprest subject is nom in all (*apām patir vrsabha istakānām*)

viśvā †deva prtanā abhisya TB ApŚ HG   *viśvāś ca deva* (PG *devah*) *prtanā abhisyāh* (PG † °*syak*) KS PG 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts '   *abhisyak* for *abhisyat*, 3d sing injunctive, see Stenzler's Critical Note on PG 3 1 3b   The 'god' is Agni, who is addrest directly in the preceding pāda even in PG (*svistam agne abhi tat prnīhi*)

§338. (d) We come next to a group of variants in which the change of person is due to a change of subject, while the general context remains essentially the same   Thus

tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB. AŚ.

ApŚ . *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīh* (one ms *hāsīt*) MŚ † The subject of the 2d person forms is Agni, who is addrest in the prec.; that of the 3d persons is *āyuh*.

kāmam (AV PB. *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV *viveśa*; KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB TB. TA AŚ ApŚ. 'Desire has entered the ocean' or the like, 'enter thou the ocean (of) desire' (TA comm : *he dakṣine samudrasamam kāmam praviśa*)

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt etc , see §337

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU SMB *ahar mātyapīparah* AV. 'The day has brought us across': 'thou (sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pra yam rāye ninīṣasi RV · *pra yo rāye ninīṣati* N. 'Whom thou (Agni) wilt lead to wealth' · 'who will lead (thee, Agni) to wealth '

mā hinsīh puruṣam jagat VS TS MS KS ŚvetU. · *mā hinsīt puruṣān mama* NīlarU. The entire verse is addrest to Rudra, who is the grammatical subject of this verb except in NīlarU , where the subject is his weapon

rarātam ud va vrdhyati (HG °si) HG ApMB. Prec by *yat ta etan mukhe 'matam* (HG *matam*) 'If thou shootest up this thought in thy face' · 'if this bad thought   shoots up   '

devi vāg yat te vāco   tasmin mā dhāh (KB ŚŚ *no adya dhāt*) TS KB ʼ GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait KŚ   The subject in KB. ŚŚ. is Vācaspati, mentioned in the prec

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdham (ŚŚ erroneously, *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. *airayant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *airayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ. omits) ŚB TA ŚŚ KŚ   The passage is troublesome, see Eggeling's note in *SBE.* 44 122   Sāyana interprets *airayat* as equivalent to a 2d person, and refers the whole passage to Vācaspati, if he is right, this variant would belong with those listed in §332.   But Eggeling translates *airayat* as a 3d person, referring, apparently, to the *yajamāna*; the formula is used under certain conditions at his consecration (*dīkṣā*); and this seems likely to be correct   The 2d person form of the variant is, of course, addrest to Vācaspati.

yo devayānah panthās tena yajño devān apy etu (KS. *tena devān gacha*) TS KS   Subject in KS is *idā*.

āyur dātra edhi VS   ŚB ŚŚ.: *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS · *vayo dātre* (VSK. *dātra edhi;* KS. PB *dātre bhūyān*) *mayo mahyam* (TB TA ApS *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahītre* VSK. KS PB TB. TA. ApŚ.   'Be thou (potency addrest) life (or the like) to the giver' etc , or, 'may there

be strength (or the like) to the giver' etc.   The meaning, of course, is virtually the same.   Cf. next

śāntir no astu MS   *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA : *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS Mahīdhara on VS.   *mā, mām prati, edhi, astu, puruṣavyatyayah* (text by error, *°vyatyamah*).   But this is, of course, a pedantic and unnecessary assumption; the 2d person is of the same sort as in the preceding variant

dyaur nah pitā pitryāc (TA. *pitryāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA *°si*) AV TA   In AV the subject is *dyaur*, in TA the comm. takes it as the *yajamāna*, no doubt correctly, but the entire stanza is obscure

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro 'si (ApŚ. *°ro astu devāh*, KS MŚ *bhūtāya dhruvo astu devāh*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ   The subject in TS is Soma, in the others *yajña;* all refer to *yajña* in the 3d person in the preceding.

sūryam (TA adds *te*) *cakṣur gachatu* (AV *cakṣuṣā gacha*) *vātam ātmā* (AV *ātmanā*) RV AV. TA   'Let thy eye go (or, go with thy eye) to the sun' etc   In the following pādas the dead man is addressed with *gacha* in all, AV. makes this pāda consistent with them, but the others are not syntactically inconsistent, since *cakṣuh* is the grammatical subject in them

sūryasya raśmīn anv ātatāna (MŚ. *ātatantha*) TB. AŚ ApŚ MŚ.   Preceded by *yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam* (*prahitam, nihitam*) *padam hi te*   In MŚ the subject is Agni, in the others, his *padam*

sviṣṭakṛd indrāya devebhyo bhava MS KS ApŚ · *sviṣṭakṛd devebhya indra ājyena haviṣā bhūt svāhā* VS ŚB.   The subject in most texts is Agni, in VS. ŚB it is (obviously secondarily) changed to Indra

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāh*) KS. MŚ.   See §158

yat te krūram   tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*, MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ   'Let that of thee become pure (by this)', or, 'as to that become thou pure by this '

§339.   We think it unnecessary to list here cases in which the change of person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a shift of voice, as between active and middle or passive, such a shift naturally involves very often a change of person, and the instances can easily be found from the lists in §§30, 83 ff., to these should be added the variant: *tās tvā devīr* (*devyo*) *jarase* (*°sā*) *sam vyayantu* (*vyayasva*), §70

§340.   For cases of this sort in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §365, and for a couple of cases in which a 2d person singular of direct address varies with an indefinite 3d plural, see §360

§341. (e) We come now to cases in which the 2d and 3d persons appear in different contexts, with different subjects, each appropriate and consistent. We may begin with a pāda which occurs in the RV. itself in no less than four different verses

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV. AV. SV. VŚ. TS MS. KS : *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV · *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV. MS TB TA MahānU · *as° bhūtv av° ta°* RV. AV TA. The last, with its anomalous form *bhūtu*, is obviously a secondary adaptation to a new context with change of person

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG † (corrupt, read as ApMB , as Kirste and Oldenberg both assume): *adho vadādharo vada* HG   The last, which is the only genuine variant, is a conscious imitation of the other, with change of person to suit different context

te devāso (TS *devā*) *yajñam imam juṣadhvam* (AV *juṣantām*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB . *te devāso havir idam juṣadhvam* AV   It is the last-quoted form of AV. which appears in the same context with the others; AV 7. 28 1, which reads *juṣantām*, is in a wholly different context.

tṛptā mā tarpayata (MG. *mām tarpayantu*) KS MG   Contexts only vaguely similar.

antaś carasy (MS *°ty*) *arṇave* AV MS   Different contexts

adhaspadam kṛnutām (AV.* *kṛnuṣva;* TS. *kṛnute*) *ye pṛtanyavah* AV. (bis) VS TS, MS. KS ŚB.

bodhāt stomair vayo dadhat MS.. *bodhā stotre vayo dadhat* (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV. SV ApŚ   See §§24, 153   The contexts are different, and MS. is interpretable as it stands but it has a v 1. *bodhā*

mā nah prajām rīriṣo (TB. 3 1 1. 3 *rīriṣan*) *mota vīrān* RV VS ŚB TB (bis). TA TAA. ApŚ SMB. HG. MG N   One case in TB. uses the pāda in a quite different context, found nowhere else, the person of the verb is consistent with its surroundings

san me bhūyāh (Kauś *°yāt*) TS MS KS. AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś Different contexts.

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ

yathāsthānaṁ kalpantām (ApŚ *kalpayadhvam*) ŚB. BṛhU ApŚ *yathāsthāma kalpayantām thaiva* AV. *yathāsthānam dhārayantām thaiva* ŚŚ   Hardly comparable   See §241.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG.· cf. *āyus te* (AV *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV etc Hardly comparable.

nyañ uttānām anv eti (and, *eṣi*) *bhūmim* RV. (both)   Subjects Indra: Agni.

agnī ra¹sānsi sedhati RV. AV. MS. KS. TB AŚ. ApŚ MŚ Kauś.
apa ra° sedhasi (PrānāgU. *cātosat*) AV. PrānāgU.

jeṣaḥ (and, *jeṣat, ajaih*) *svarvatīr apah* RV. (all). Indra is the subject
each time, but the contexts are different. See *RVRep.* 39. *ajaih*
is 2d person. The original is *jeṣaḥ*, RV. 1 10 8

abhy arṣanti (and, *arṣati*) *suṣṭuīm* RV. (both): *abhy arṣata suṣṭuīm
ʿaʿyam ājim* RV. VS KS. ApŚ. The addition in the latter indi-
cates that it is secondary; but it is consistent with its context

asmā bharatu nas (AV. *te*) *tanūh* RV. AV. VS. TS MS KSA. *asmera
tram s'hirā* (MG. ApMB * *sthiro*) *bhava* AG. ŚG SMB. PG. ApMB
HG. MG Cf. also *asmā bhava parasur bhara;* see Conc The AV.
context is related to that of the GS texts, and Ppp. reads *asmera
tram sthiro bhara;* the vulgate AV. has an interesting contamination
with the fundamentally unrelated passage of RV. etc

ā barhih sidatam sumat RV.: *sidatām barhir ā sumat* RV. Subjects
Aśvins: Night and Dawn.

ado girībhyo adhi yat pradhārasi TB.: *ado yad avadhārati* AV.: *amī ye le
sarasyakā avadhārati* HG. ApMB. (see Winternitz, Introduction,
p. xxvi; he supposes that *avadhārata* is intended, while Kirste and
Oldenberg assume *avadhāvanti* for HG): *asau yo 'rasarpah* VS. TS
MS. KS. Four different contexts with different subjects.

imaṁ yajñaṁ mimikṣatām (TB. °*tam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB TB ŚB
ŚŚ. LŚ. Quite different context in TB. ŚŚ from the others, see
§337.

juṣethām (and, °*tām*) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV. In three different contexts,
two with direct address, one 3d person; different subjects each
time

punar no naṣṭam ākṛdhi (RV. AV. *ājatu*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS
MŚ.

yat sīm āgaś cakṛmā tat su mṛdatu (and, *mṛda*) RV. (both).

viśvam ā bhāsi (RV.* *bhāti*) *rocanam* (AV.* *rocana*) RV. (tris) AV. (bis)
ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. Subjects Uṣas, Sūrya, and
Indra.

viśvā adhi śriyo dadhe RV.: . . . '*dhita* RV. KS. TB : . *dhiṣe* RV.

viśve devāsa iha vīrayadhvam (AV. *mādayadhvam;* VS ŚB Vait. LŚ
mādayantām) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait LŚ ApMB : *viśve devā
iha mādayantām* (KS. *vīrayadhvam*) TS KS TB Two different
contexts, with appropriate persons of verbs in each.

saṁ sūryena rocate RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA : . . .*rocase* RV. AV. Subjects
Soma Pavamāna: Uṣas.

vi mucyantām usriyāh VS. ŚB · *vi mucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA ApŚ.
aghniyā) devayānāh VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ. Hardly
variants of each other.

sa cakārārasam viṣam AV · *sā cakarthārasam viṣam* AV

sajātānām asad (AV *aso) vaśi* AV. (both) VS TS. MS KS.

sadyo jajñāno havyo babhūtha (and, *babhūva*) RV. (both)   Subjects
Agni· Indra.

sa viśvā bhuva ābhavah RV AV   *sa viśvā bhuvo* (AV *sa idam viśvam)
abhavat sa ābhavat* AV TS TB

stṛnanti (RV * *stṛnāta) barhir ānuṣak* RV (both) SV VS MS KS ŚB
TB ApŚ N ·

viṣe viṣam apṛkthāh (and, *aprāg api)* AV (both)

madhu tvā (AV *me) madhulā karotu* (AV *karah*, RV *cakāra*, MS
kṛnotu) RV AV. MS TA ApŚ

sa no vasūny ā bhara (SV *bharāt)* RV SV. AV VS TS MS KS   Differ-
ent context in SV

aviṣam nah pitum kṛnu (KS *kṛdhi*, TB ApŚ *karat)* VS 2 20 (omitted
in Conc) TS KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ   In the last two texts the context
is different

For other cases in which there is a change of number as well as person,
see §371

§342. (f) Finally, some instances which include either gross corrup-
tions or errors of various kinds   Others, involving number as well as
person, will be found below, §372

ihaiva kṣemya edhi mā prahāsīr mām amum (ApŚ. *prahāsīn māmum)
āmuṣyāyanam* (AŚ *mā prahāsīr amum māmuṣyāyanam)* MS AŚ
ApŚ MŚ   The true reading of ApŚ. can hardly be anything but
prahāsīr, as Caland assumes

yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabhūtha (TB *°bhūva;* but Poona ed text and
comm correctly *°iha)* TB ApŚ   *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhrato)
jātavedāh* AV KS   See §262, f

samjñānāneṣu vai brūyāt AB · *samjānāneṣu vai brūyāh* ŚŚ   Several mss
of ŚŚ. read *brūyāt*   But Aufrecht 387, conjectures *brūyāh* for
AB , and this is approved by Keith, *HOS* 25 307, who so translates

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA *vṛkṣau) sam bādhiṣṭa* (TA once *°tām*, once *bādhethām)*
AV TA   The form *bādhethām* can hardly be anything but a cor-
ruption for *°tām, vṛkṣau* is accented, and a 3d person is required;
comm *sambādhntam mā kurutām*   But perhaps this might be
placed in §332

aśriram (TB.† *aślilaṁ*) *cit kṛnuthā supratīkam* RV. AV. TB. Conc.
quotes *kṛnuyāt* for TB.; Bibl. Ind ed. reads in fact *kṛṇuthāt*, but
its comm. and Poona ed. text have the correct *kṛnuthā*

teṣāṁ yo aṣyānim (PG. *'jyā°*) *ajītim ā vahāt* (SMB Conc *añjim āvahāḥ*,
but Jorgensen as the others) TS SMB. PG BDh.

nivarto yo ny avīvṛtat (HG. *avīvṛdhah*) ApMB HG.   The HG. form is
corrupt, Oldenberg adopts *avīvṛtat*.

madhye poṣasya tṛmpatāṁ (MG. *puṣyatām*) ŚG MG : *madhye poṣasva
tiṣṭhantāṁ* AG.   For *poṣasva* read *poṣasya* (Stenzler, Transl)

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya;* MS. *loke nidhir ajarōya*) AV.
MS. TA.   See §153   TA is probably corrupt, MS is still worse.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG.
The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB , see §153.

barhi (*barhih*) *stṛnīhi* (TS MS MŚ. ApŚ * *stṛnāhi*) TS MŚ. GB ŚB
Vait. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ   The text of MS. reads *stṛṇāti*, presumably
by misprint.

nir ā yachasi madhyame AV ŚŚ.   The vulgate of AV. reads *yachati,*
by Roth's emendation

B Variants concerning Number

§343. We have explained above (§§289–301, especially 301) the
principles of classification adopted for the Number variants, and quoted
examples of the principal types   We now proceed to give the lists in
full, beginning with—

1. *First Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates*

§344. In many—possibly even in most—of these (see §290) the first
person plural is only formally plural, and actually refers to a single
person, the speaker, alone   That is, we have a kind of 'editorial we'.
It is not necessary to suppose that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is
implied in such cases, tho one or the other may at times be suspected
We begin with a few cases where the 'editorial we' seems particularly
clear, but in general we have made no attempt to sift out such instances
from the general run of variants in which the priest says 'I' or 'we' in
referring to himself and his associates.   For it seems to us practically
impossible to do so in the large majority of instances.   This lies in the
very nature of the case, there is as a rule nothing to show whether the
priestly 'we' means the speaker alone, or includes others of his class.

But in the first three variants, at least, it seems clear that it means the single speaker:

idaṁ vatsyāmo bhoḥ AG.: *om alaṁ vatsyāmi bhoḥ* ŚG.: *idam vatsyāvah* HG. In AG. ŚG. alike spoken by the brahman-pupil when about to leave his teacher on a journey. In HG. spoken by the teacher at the *upanayana;* the dual includes the boy.

brahmacaryam āgām (MG. *upemasi;* Kauś. text† *āgam,* misprint?) ŚB. Kauś SMB. GG. PG. ApMB ApG. HG. MG. Again spoken by the *brahmacārin* The reason for MG's secondary reading is clearly metrical; MG. makes a verse of the passage which in the others is prose.

śatam ca jīvāmi (MG. *śatam jīvema*) *śaradaḥ purūcīḥ* PG. MG. In the same verse, spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil; MG. otherwise has 1st singular verbs. For other forms of the variant see Conc. and §103. The other texts which show plural verb (*jīvantu*) have a different context.

Once this 'editorial we' varies with a definite first-person dual:

puṁsāṁ bahūnām mātara syāma (HG. °*rau syāva*) ApMB MG. In a .verse spoken by wife to husband; the dual includes the two spouses, while the plural is evidently 'editorial'.

§345. The remaining long list is as follows:

yad aham dhanena (AV. *yena dhanena,* HG. *yad vo devāḥ*) *prapanam* (ApMB. °*naṅś*) *carāmi* (HG. °*ma*) AV. ApMB. HG.

vairūpe sāmann iha (MS. *adhi;* KS. *vairūpeṇa sāmnā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS *chakema;* MS *tañ śakeyam*) TS. MS KS. AŚ. Followed by: *jagatyainam* (AŚ. °*tyenam*) *vikṣu āveśayāmi* (AŚ. °*ni;* TS. °*mah*), same texts

mā mā (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *no*) *hāsīn* (MŚ. *hāsīr,* AŚ. *hiṅsīd*) *nāthito* (TB. ApŚ. *metthito,* AŚ. *dhvisito dadhāmi,* some mss. omit *dadhāmi*) *net* (AŚ. MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāmi* (AV. KS. °*ni,* TB. ApŚ. °*ma*) AV. KS. TB AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

idaṁ pitṛbhyaḥ pra bharāmi (TA. *bharema*) *barhiḥ* AV. TA. Followed by:

jīvaṁ devebhya uttaram stṛṇāmi AV. · *devebhyo jīvanta uttaraṁ bharema* TA. TA. spoils the meter.

yad dhastābhyāṁ cakara (AV. *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TB. TA. . *yam aichāma* (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

samānena (TB. *saṁjñānena*) *vo haviṣā juhomi* (TB. *yajāmah*) RV. AV. MS TB.

emam panthām arukṣāma AV.: *sugam panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB

tena tvā parı dadhması (PG *dadhāmy āyuṣe*) AV PG.   Different contexts, only vaguely parallel

bhūpate bhuvanapate   tvā vṛnīmahe (MŚ *vṛne*) TB Vaıt KŚ ApŚ MŚ

pragāyāmasy agratah PG. ApMB   *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG   Note the metathesis of the syllable *sya*!

abadhıṣma rakṣo   VS VSK ŚB   ıdam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe VS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ : *avadhıṣma rakṣah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ Hardly true varıants

apaśyaṁ yuvatım nıyamānām AV . *apaśyāma yu° ācarantīm* TA

achıdrah prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ ApMB HG cf *arıṣtā asmākam vīrāh (santu), arıṣtās tanvo bhūyāsma*, etc , see Conc Hardly true varıants.

tasya doham aśīmahı (KS *aśīya*, AŚ *aśīya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ.

tām adya gāthām gāsyāmı (MG °*mah*) PG MG.

te yam dvıṣmo yaś ca no dveṣṭı tam eṣām (TS ApMB * *vo*) *jambhe dadhmah* (TS KS ApMB * *dadhāmı*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB (both).

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hı*) TS MŚ   But most mss of MŚ read *yajeha (yaja ıha)*, whıch would make *yaja* a 2d person addrest to Agnı lıke *anu manyasva*

asmın sahasram puṣyāsam (Kauś *puṣyāsma*) ŚB BṛhŪ Kauś

ugram sahodām ıha tam huvema (MS *huve*) RV VS TS MS KS TB ŚB   Bad meter ın MS

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK TS MS KS ŚB. TA AŚ ApMB : *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG *abhūma*) AV HG

gātrānām te gātrabhājo bhūyāsma (KS °*bhāg bhūyāsam*) TS. KS Prose

pṛchāmı (LŚ °*mas*) *tvā param antam pṛthıvyāh*,

pṛchāmı (LŚ °*mo*) *yatra* (TS KSA TB *tvā*, AV *vıśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhıh* (AV TS KSA TB °*ım*),

pṛchāmı (LŚ °*mas*) *tvā* (AV omıts) *vṛṣno aśvasya retah*,

pṛchāmı (LŚ °*mo*) *vācah paramam vyoma* RV AV VS TS KSA TB LŚ , and the first pāda ın ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vaıt.

brahman prasthāsyāmah (GB ŚB KŚ ŚŚ °*mı*) TS KB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

brahmann apah praneṣyāmı AŚ Vaıt KŚ ApŚ MŚ . *brahman praneṣyāmah* KB

yasmaı ca tvā khanāmy aham (Kauś *khanāması*) VS Kauś . *yasmaı cāham khanāmı vah* RV. VS TS

tūcah satyam aśīmahı (VS ŚB *aśīya*) RVKh VS ŚB TB   Bad meter in VS ŚB.

vaiśvānarāya pratı vedayāmaḥ (AV. °*mi*) AV TA. BDh

ʾ*agnım ındram* (TB *agnī ındrā*) *vŗtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB *vām*, MS °*hanam huvema*) AV. MS TB

etam yuvānam patım (TS *pari*) *vo dadāmı* TS ŚG PG ViDh · *etam vo yuvānam pratı dadhmo atra* AV

sugā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS N. °*ram*) *akarma* (MS *kŗnomı*, KŚ Kauś ApŚ *sadanānı santu*) AV. VS TS MS ŚB KŚ. Kauś ApŚ N : *sugā vo devāḥ sadanedam astu* KS

jīvā (TB ApŚ. *jīvo*) *jīvantīr upa vaḥ sadema* (TB. ApŚ. *sadeyam*) AV. KS TB. MŚ ApŚ.

tam (RV. omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe;* RV KS *johavīmı*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ.

bŗhaspatim vaḥ. havāmahe GB Vait *bŗhaspatim vıśvān devān aham huve* RV. It ıs doubtful whether these are really related

marudām pıtas tad aham gŗnāmı (MS *gŗṇe te*, KS *pitar uta tad gŗnīmah*) TS. MS KS.

mā (VS ŚB add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vı yauṣma* VS. MS ŚB . *māham rā° vi yoṣam* TS KS TA. ApŚ

mıtrasya (MS. adds *vaś*) *cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe* VS MS : cf. *mıtrasyāham cakṣuṣā. .samīkṣe*, etc , see Conc and §303.

rudrasya sūnum havasā gŗnīması (and, *vıvāse*) RV (both). The change is metrıcal, *trıṣṭubh* and *jagatī* verses.

vājasyedam (AV VS ŚB *vājasya nu*) *prasava ābabhūva* (AV °*ve sam babhūvima*) AV. VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB

rıśvaır viśvāñgaıh saha sam bhavema (MŚ *bhavāmı*) AV. MŚ

sam jyotiṣābhūma (TS °*bhūvam*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB. ŚŚ · *sam sūryaśya jyotıṣāganma* AV In most texts, but not ın TS, juxtaposed wıth formulas containıng 1st plural expressıons.

tasmın pāśān pratımuñcāma etān MS KS : *yam dvıṣmas tasmın pratı- muñcāmı pāśam* TS ApŚ.

suprajāḥ prajayā (*prajābhıh*) *bhūyāsam* (*syām; syāma, bhūyās*) See Conc , an ıntrıcate tangle of formulas, ıt is doubtful to what extent they are true variants of each other The plur. *syāma* only ın VS ŚB , whıch elsewhere have the sıng form too; VSK has sıng ın the passage correspondıng to the plur. of VS.

yam tvā somenātītŗpāma (TS °*pam;* MŚ. °*pan*) VS TS ŚB MŚ

ena enasyo 'karam (TB *'karat*) AV. TB (see §315): *enānsı* (TS KS * TB.* *enaś*) *cakŗmā vayam* AV VS TS MS KS *TB * And others, see Conc In adjoınıngˋstanzas of AV.

huvema vājasātaye RV. SV MS KS *huveya vā°* RV AV Cf *havante ıā°*, §316

anu tvendrārabkāmahe AV.· *anu tvā rabhe* AV etc (see Conc). The
latter ıs prose, the former ıs made metrıcal

ava (RV. *abhı*, MS *āvah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāması* (RV *mṛśāması;*
VS ŚB *ava nayāmı*) RV AV VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

āganta pıtarah pıtṛmān aham yuṣmābhır bhūẏāsam   TS : *āganta pıtarah*
supıtaro vayam yuṣmābhır bhūyāsma MŚ

tāni te parı dadması AV · *tām* (ApŚ * *tāns*) *te parıdadāmy aham* (TA.
omits *aham*) TA ApŚ   In dıfferent contexts

tebhıś chıdram apı dadhmo yad atra MS AŚ   *teṣām chidram pratı dadhmo*
yad atra KS : *teṣām chinnam sam etad* (ŚŚ *sam ımam*, TS. *pratı*
etad) *dadhāmı* VS TS ŚŚ

devasyāham (VSK MS KS MŚ *devasya vayam*) *savıtuh prasave* (*save*)
. *jeṣam* (VSK MS KS MŚ *jeṣma*) VS VSK. TS MS. KS ŚB.
TB ApŚ MŚ

devasyāham (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savıtuh save   aruham* (VSK.
aruhāma   ) VS VSK ŚB   Other texts have *ruheyam;* see §133.

vājınam tvā vājıno 'vanayāmah (MS *vājıny avanayāmi*) MS TA ApŚ.

teṣu (ŚG *anyeṣu*) *aham sumanāh sam vıśāmı* (AŚ °*nı;* MG. *vasāma,*
ŚG *vıśeyam*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB MG   See §104, c.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu*
AV. KS ApŚ   The ApŚ readıng ıs worthless

jagṛhmā (RV °*bhmā*, TB °*bhnā*) *te dakṣınam ındra hastam* RV. SV. MS.
TB. The TB form may be felt as 1st person sıng (subj.)́, but see
Ludwıg on RV 10. 47 1

[*agne vratapate vratam acārıṣam*, for thıs Conc. quotes KS as *acārıṣma*,
by error]

§346. In the followıng, one form or the other ıs more or less at varı-
ance with the context   Thıs does not necessarıly mean that the con-
sıstent form is more orıgınal

śıvam prajābhyo 'hınsantam   agnım   khanāmah (TS KS °*mı*) VS.
TS MS KS ŚB   A parallel formula just before this has *khanāmı*
in all texts

idam śreyo (AV *ıdam uc chreyo*) '*vasānam āgām* (ApMB. *āganma devāh;*
ApŚ. °*nam yad āgām*) AV ApŚ ApMB   Even in ApMB (tho
ıt has a dıfferent context) fırst-sıngular verbs occur ın the precedıng
lıne of the stanza

yac cāham eno vıdvānś cakāra   VS ŚŚ   *yac cāham eno vidvānsaś* .
cakṛma.. MahānU   The latter ıs obviously and flagrantly incon-
sıstent wıth ıts context.   The comm lamely supplıes a separate
verb, *akārṣam*, wıth *aham*

indrasya manmahe śaśvad id asya manmahe AV : *indrasya manve prathamasya pracetasah* TS MS KS   In the following pāda all have the sing pronoun 'me'.

tam tvā juṣāmahe   VS MS KS ŚB · *tam tvā juṣe*   TS ApŚ   The preceding and parallel formula is 1st sing in all; presumably TS has secondarily changed this to be consistent with it

anhomuce pra bharemā (AV *bhare*) *maṇīṣām* AV. TS MS. KS.   Haplology naturally suggests itself to us, as it did to Lanman ap. Whitney on AV 19 42 3, the meter, and the Ppp reading *bharemā*, seem to confirm the suggestion   Yet the curious fact is to be noted that at the end of the next pāda MS. has the singular participle *āvṛnānaḥ* as in AV (while yet reading *bharemāʼ*); TS. KS. consistently show plural participles

śarman (MS. °*mans*) *te syāma* (VS. *tava syāma śarmans;* TS *tava syām śarman*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhit*) VS TS. MS. KS TA   Note that VS. is hypermetric, TS , with the same order and non-enclitic *tava* for *te*, corrects the meter with its *syām;* it is however clearly secondary; plural pronouns referring to 'us' occur in all texts in the preceding pāda

adveṣe (MS. °*ṣye*) *dyāvāpṛthivī huvema* (MS. *huve*) RV. VS. MS.   The MS. reading is not only bad metrically but inconsistent with the pronoun *asme* in the next pāda.

edho 'sy edhiṣīmahi (AV. °*ṣīya*) AV. VS. etc. etc.   Not only in AV., but also in several texts showing plural verb, the same verse contains the phrase *tejo mayi dhehi*, with sing pronoun.

sarvān agniñr (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vah* (MS *huve;* AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS MS AB.   The AV. is inconsistent with *mayi* of the next pāda, but it probably has the original reading, 'corrected' in the others.   We infer this from the bad meter of MS. and the fact that TS AB. use the 'patch-word' *vah* to correct the meter.

sutarmānam adhi nāvam ruhema (KS. *ruheyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS.   The KS. reading is inconsistent with *tarema* of the preceding pāda. But to call it 'absurd' and 'a mere blunder' (Keith on TS. 1. 2. 2. 2) is an exaggeration   Keith would probably not have used such strong language if he had seen the evidence of the Variants as to the frequency of such things

tam vah suprītam subhṛtam akarma (KS. *abhārṣam*) TS. KS.   In the next formula KS. also has *nah*.

vāmī te samdṛśi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS. *dhiṣīya*) MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi viśvā retānsi*

dhıṣīya TS · *vāmī nāma saṁdṛśi vıśvā vāmānı dhīmahı* JB.   Thɛ
last is inconsistent.

For a few sımılar varıants between first plural and second sıngular,
see §307, end

2 *Second Person Sıngular and Plural, referrıng to the prıests and theır*
assocıates

§347. As we found above (§307, cf. §290) the 2d person varying with
the first in reference to the *yajamāna* or priest, the partıcıpant in or
beneficiary of the rıte, so we have here a few cases of 2d person verbs,
sıngular and plural, used variously in reference to such persons.   But
the instances are very rare compared to †ʰe correspondıng ones ın the
first person.

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS ŚB : *tam anu prehı sukṛtasya lokam*
TS KS Mahīdhara says, *he ṛtvıjah*   In TS KS presumably the
yajamāna ıs meant

yamam rājānam havıṣā duvasya (TA. °*syata*, AV. *saparyata*) RV. AV.
MS TA   The priest here addresses either hımself or an assocıate
Sāyana, *he madīyāntarātman yajamāna vā*   The plural of TA. AV.
ıs a lect. fac

ut sṛjata (SMB GG. *sṛja*) *gām* LŚ SMB GG : *om utsṛjata* (MG. °*tu*)
TA. ŚŚ AG PG ApMB ÁpG. HG MG.   (But Jörgensen reads
in SMB wıth comm —hıs text mss omıt the formula—*om ut
sṛjata!*)   The object (generally understood) ıs the cow at the
Arghya rite   'Let ıt loose!" ıs spoken by the recıpıent ıf he does not
wısh it killed   Addrest to the person(s) holdıng the cow, or the giver
of ıt —Some texts have ın the same context various forms of the
followıng varıant (meaning 'do it!', ı e 'kıll the cow', ıf he wishes ıt
killed).   But the word occurs also ın varıous other connexions:

oṁ kuruta· kuru· kuruta kuruṣva kurudhvam   See Conc   Only ın
part belongıng to related contexts and varıants of one another, see
_   under prec

pāpmānam me hata (Kauś '*pa jahi*) MG. Kauś

abhı (AV. *parı*) *stṛṇīhı parı dhehi vedım* AV TB ApŚ   *parıstṛṇīta parı-
dhattāgnim* TB. ApŚ · *stṛṇīta barhıh parı dhatta vedım* KS MŚ.
The second occurrence of TB. ApŚ. ıs in a different verse, but one
modelled on the other and in the same vicinity.   The comm on AV.
and also that on TB (both tımes) regard *darbha*-grass (sıng or
plur) as addrest   But ApŚ ıntroduces the formula wıth *sampreṣ-
yati*, ındıcatıng that ıt is a command to an assocıate priest.   The

ApŚ comm remarks that, since no other priest than the *adhvaryu* (who speaks here) 'strews', the *adhvaryu* addresses himself with this command[1] (cf Sāyana on *yamam rājānam* etc. above) That priests, or at least a priest, and not *darbha*-grass, are addrest seems clear from the KS MŚ variant, where *barhiḥ* is the *object* *agnīñ jyotiṣmataḥ kuruta* (MŚ *kuru*) ApŚ MŚ 'Light the fires!' Addrest to priest(s) or attendant(s), not clearly specified.

3 *Subject pluralized or dualized, varying with the same subject in the singular*

§348. We have referred (§296) to the variants in which a singular verb with singular subject is, as it were, multiplied to a dual or plural They fall naturally into two groups The first, with which we are here concerned, includes those in which the same subject, in the same or at least a very similar context, and without the inclusion of any different entity, is pluralized or dualized, the number of the verb changing with it The second group (§§353 ff.), in which the dual or plural is formed by the inclusion of another entity or entities than the singular subject, will be treated in the next subdivision Instances of the converse, that is substitution of a singular for plural in the like circumstances, are equally common and are included in the list which follows We begin with cases of

§349. Singular and Plural

vi parjanyam (TS. °*yāḥ*) *srjanti* (MS KŚ *pra parjanyaḥ srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS In RV the subject is the Maruts, in the others, Parjanya, singular or plural The RV. form in relation to the others belongs in §361 below, q v.

agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva KS ApŚ MŚ . *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait , cf. *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SB 'O Agni house-lord (or, O Fires), invite me '

ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt TS : *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS. ŚB.: *rtavo 'dhipatayā āsan* MS KS 'The season(s, or the like) was (were) over-lord(s) '

dviṣan me bahu śocatu TB ApŚ : *dviṣantas tapyantām bahu* MŚ. In the preceding pāda all texts refer to a singular 'hater'.

upahūtopahvayasva; upahūtā upahvayadhvam MŚ (both)

ekaśapham asrjyata MS . *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'srjyanta* VS TS KS. ŚB. Here the singular is really a collective and means the same as the plural: 'one-hoofed (animals) were created '

dhiṣanās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevya-*

vatī)...*abhīndhatām* (MS. once *abhīnddhām*, once *abhīndhātām*) VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. and (pratīka) MŚ. Since a dual form cannot
be construed, it seems that the form *abhīndhātām* (if not corrupt)
is a bastard subjunctive-imperative blend, intended to be 3d singular
(like *abhīnddhām*, the proper form).

manojavās tvā pitṛbhir (KS. *pitaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS TS.
KS. ŚB.: *manojavaso vah pitṛbhir dakṣiṇata upa dadhatām* TA.:
pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu MS. In the same passage
The form *manojavās* is plural in MS KS, singular in the others.

śundhantām lokāḥ pitṛṣadanāḥ VS MS. KS. ŚB MŚ : *śundhatām lokah
pitṛṣadanaḥ* TS. ApŚ. 'Let the world(s) where the fathers sit be
purified'

dūrvā rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ (AV. *rohatu puṣpiṇī*) RV. AV. 'Let flowering
dūrvā-plant(s) grow.' Some mss of AV, followed by comm.
and SPP., read as RV., and Whitney reports Ppp. likewise.

miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau*
AV.

indraghoṣas (KS. °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhiḥ* (KS † *vasavaḥ*) *purastāt pātu* (KS.
pāntu) VS TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne AV.: *mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne* VS. TS.
MS KS

imam yajñam avatu yā (AŚ. *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS *avantu no ghṛtācīḥ*) TS MS.
KS. AŚ. Subject is the *śakvarī*-verse(s), singular or (TS) plural.

śunam kīnāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaih* (AV.
TS *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB

vāk patamgo aśiśriyat (KS °*gā aśiśrayuh*) AV KS The same pāda is
read: *vāk patamgāya dhāyate* (TS. *śiśriye*, MS. *hūyate*), with middle or
passive verb and different subject, in RV. AV. SV. ArS VS TS.
MS. ŚB.

anavahāyāsmān (KS. adds *devi dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS *patheta*,
KS *pathā yatī*) *sukṛtām loke sīdata* (KS. *sīda*) TS. MS. KS Plural
in TS MS. because the *dakṣiṇās* there addrest are plural; in KS.
they are considered collectively, or (better) as a personified abstrac-
tion, and hence singular. In the same context, and due to the same
circumstances:

asmadrātā (TS. *asmaddātrā*; MS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr*, KS. *madhumatī*)
devatrā gachata (KS. *gacha*; TS adds *madhumatīh*) VS TS MS. KS.
ŚB. ŚŚ ApŚ. And:

pradātāram ā viśata (KS. *viśa*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

Quite similar to the preceding three variants is the group of the next three, all in the same passage in the YV Samhitās·

raudrenānīkena pāhi māgne (VS *pāta māgnayah*) VS TS M˄ KS ŚŚ : Followed by.

piprhi mā (KS *māgne*) TS MS KS ŚŚ *piprta māgnayah* (PB ŚŚ *mā*) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait And —

mā mā hinsīh (*hinsiṣta*), see Conc (This last occurs very frequently, and in other connexions) In these three cases either various altar-fires are addrest, or Fire collectively, or the same personified, as Agni(s).

yad aśuddhah parājaghāna KS . *yad vo 'śuddhāh parā jaghnur* (VSK *'śuddhah parā jaghānaitad*) VS VSK ŚB See §30

pracetās tvā rudraih paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB *pracetā* (here felt as plural) *vo rudraih paścād upa dadhatām* TA *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS

yat paśur māyum akrta TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG · *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś In Kauś *vaśā(h)* is plural, all mss. *akrata*

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣti tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣty anu tam ravasva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ·

varūtrayo janayas tvā *pacantūkhe* TS . *var˞trī* (and, *varu°*) *tvā* .. *pacatām ukhe* MS : *janayas tvā* *pacantūkhe* VS MS KS ŚB.

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*; TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.

anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām (KS °*patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB.* °*patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB (bis) Vait.

ā me graho bhavatv (KSA *grahā bhavantv*) *ā puroruk* TS KSA.

abhy arṣati (and, *arṣanti*) *suṣtutim, pavamānā abhy arṣanti suṣtutim* RV (all) Subject is Soma Pavamāna, sing or plur , see *RV Rep.* 437

aido me bhagavo 'janiṣthā maitrāvarunah MS · *aidā me bhagavanto 'janidhvam maitrāvarunāh* MŚ And, in same passage, *ūrjā me bhagavah saha janiṣthāh* (MŚ *bhagavantah sahā janidhvam*) MS MŚ : *jñātram me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*), *samvidam me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*) MS MŚ *punyā punyam* (and, °*yāni*) *asūt*, and *citrā citram* (and, °*rām*) *asūt* MS , *punyāh* (and, *citrāś*) *punyān* (°*yā*, and, *citrān, citrā*) *asuvan* MŚ

prathamam artim yuyotu nah MG *pia sa* (read *su*) *mrtyum yuyotana* HG · *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mrtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB ApMB. Subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB AG ŚG PG HG
ApMB *tena brāhmano vapatu* MG · *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB
See §330

tena yantu yajamānāh svasti MS *tenaitu yajamānah svasti* (KS * ApŚ
svastyā) TS KS ApŚ The real motive for MS's change may have
been metrical, the plural may be understood as one of respect, but
for plurality and duality of *yajamānas* see in Conc under *agnim
adya hotāram (avṛnītām)*

āyuṣmatyā (°*tya*) *ṛco mā gāta* (Vait *māpagāyā*, Kauś *mā satsi*) TS
AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś One or more priests are addrest Caland on
Vait would read °*gāyata*, presumably because the surrounding
parallel phrases are plural, but the sing is supported by Kauś

ud rathānām (AV *vīrānām*) *jayatām yantu ghoṣāh* (AV TS °*tām etu
ghoṣah*) RV AV VS SV TS

upaitu mām devasakhah RVKh Rvidh *upa yantu mām devaganāh* MG

niṣaṅgina upa spṛśata HG *niṣaṅginn upa spṛśa* ApMB Rudra is
meant, and is referred to in the singular in other formulas in the
context of HG ; we may understand the plural to refer to the Rud-
ras, or Rudra's 'hosts'

pavantām āntarikṣyā RV SV *paiatām ā* °RV And

pavante vāre avyaye RV SV *pavate v*° *a*° RV The subject is soma,
singular or plural The plural occurrences are found in the midst
of *ṛcas* with singular soma referred to, see Bloomfield, *RV Rep* 427

atho (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam asi*) *niṣkṛtāh* (TS *samk*°,
MS *samkṛtih*, KS *niṣkṛtih*) RV VS TS MS KS Addrest to
herbs, or (MS KS) to an herb, but the singular reading is incon-
sistent with the rest of the verse, both prec and following pādas,
where even MS. KS have plur

trāyatām marutām ganah RV.. *trāyantām marutām gaṇāh* AV

bhaga(s) stha bhagasya vo lapsīya KS ApŚ *bhago 'si bh*° *la*° MŚ Ad-
dressed to cakes, one of which is taken by each of the participants
in the rite. Plur thinks of the plurality of cakes, sing. thinks of
each person addressing his own cake 'Ye are (thou art) luck' etc

idā (p p *idāh;* MS *idāh;* KS *idās*) *stha* TS MS KS *ilāsi* ŚŚ

§350. Singular, Dual, and Plural

asā (*asāv*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ *tanuhi jyotiṣā*) MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ And
vikāras in MŚ *amū anu mā tanutam, amī anu mā tanuta*

§351. Singular and Dual

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (AŚ *sambhavatām*, MŚ *sambharetām*)
TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ See §330

nīlalohitam bhavati (ApMB °*te bhavatah*) RV AV. ApMB   The bridal
garment, which is made dual (i e of two pieces) in ApMB , 'be-
comes blue-red '

viśvakarmans tanūpā asi ŚB . *viśvakarmānau tanūpau me sthah* ŚŚ
Followed in both by a series of formulas addrest to two sacred fires;
in ŚŚ this formula is assimilated to them, *viśva°* being made an
epithet of the fires

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthah (Kauś also, *pūtam asi*) MS KS ApŚ. MŚ
Kauś (both)   GG KhG   Strainers are referred to, two are men-
tioned in Kauś in the sūtra just preceding the one which has the
singular form

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA *vṛkṣau*) *sam bādhiṣṭa* (TA °*tām,* and *bādhethām*) AV
TA (bis) ˌ The TA refers to two pieces of wood

so'dhvarā karati jātavedāh AB   *kṛnotu so adhvarāñ* (VS TB °*rā*) *jāta-
vedāh* VS MS KS TB ApŚ   *kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ.
§352. Dual and Plural

ahorātrās (KS TA °*trāni*) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA   *ahorātre te*
(TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB 'Days-and-nights' or 'day-and-night'

rājānam samgāyata (PG °*gāyetām*) ŚG. PG   Subject, lute-players, two
in PG , more than two in ŚG , who are commanded to 'sing of the
king'

agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi,* p p *jihvām, abhi,* AV KS *jihvayābhi*)
gṛnītam (AV *gṛnata*) AV. VS TS MS KS   The subject is certain
'divine *hotars*', plural in AV , dual in the others, according to
Mahīdhara on VS they are Agni and Vāyu, acc to Griffith on VS ,
Agni with Āditya or Varuna, or Agni celestial and terrestrial   The
AV comm is missing, Griffith on AV. understands 'priests of the
gods', Ludwig omits the verse in his translation, and Weber omits
the entire hymn

samprca (°*ah,* °*as*) *stha sam mā bhadrena pṛṅkta* VS VSK KS ŚB TB
ApŚ MŚ   *samprcau sthah sam mā bhadrena pṛṅktam* VS. ŚB ˌ
And, in same passage

viprca (°*ah,* °*as*) *stha vi mā* (MŚ. omits *mā*) *pāpmanā* (VSK. *pāpena*)
pṛṅkta· *viprcau stho vi mā pāpmanā pṛṅktam,* same texts   VSK
has plural in place of the dual of VS   Addrest to *grahas,* in the dual
passage only two in VS ŚB. (*somasurāgrahau,* comm), but in the
preceding part of the formula a plurality of them is addrest in
these texts also.

vājino vājajito vājam sariṣyanto etc , and *vājinau vājajitau vājam
jitvā* etc , also:

vājino vājajito vājam sasṛvānso ete , and *vājinau vājajitau vājam jitvā*
etc , both VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ. For the various readings
see §329   Either two horses of the racing team, or the entire team,
are alternatively addrest or referred to in this ritual formula

agnim adya hotāram (avṛnītām, and *avṛnata*) ŚŚ , see Conc under
this item.

4 *Subject pluralized or dualized by the inclusion of a different entity or entities from that designated in the singular form*

§353. Here the dual or plural goes with a subject which includes both
the subject of the singular form and some other entity or entities, referred
to in the context   It differs from the preceding class in that the 'mul-
tiplication' is accomplished by including a disparate person or thing
As before, the process works both ways, sometimes addition or multipli-
cation, sometimes subtraction or division   Very frequently this mani-
fests itself in the following way a series of coordinate nouns is the joint
subject of a plural verb, while in another form of the same formula the
verb is made singular, agreeing nominally with the nearest subject alone.
There is, of course, no real difference in the sense in such cases   All
three numbers occur in the first variant, which is somewhat complicated·

§354. Singular, Dual and Plural

indram karmasv āvatam (MS VS * *͗ta*) RV AV VS (both) MS KS
ŚB TB ApŚ   *indram karmasv avatu* MS   *indra karmasu no 'vata*
VS KS   *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (see below)   All in essen-
tially the same stanza, with sometimes extensive modifications
The original (RV) subject is the Aśvins, who are meant by the dual
verb   The plural includes Sarasvatī, named (in this version) in the
preceding pāda, or Sarasvatī and Indra, in the variant reading
indra (voc)   In the singular form the subject is Sarvasvatī alone,
as nearest subject (MS)   The TB , if the reading were correct
would be interpretable with Indra as subject, but the Poona ed text
and comm , and the comm of the Bibl Ind ed , read *indra*   *'vata,*
like the second version of VS KS

§355. Singular and Plural

āsīdantu (SV *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV. SV
VS TB   Followed by *prālaryāvāno adhvaram*   The real subject
in RV is the gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples
(Sāyana *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prālaryāvānah
devās* etc)   But both SV and TB were troubled by the seeming
disagreement (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the

construction—SV. by making the verb singular (agreeing with the
nearer subject, *mitro*), TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing
three subjects

mā vo riṣat (Kauś *te riṣan*) *khanitā* RV. VS TS Kauś The rest of the
verse reads in Kauś · *yasmai ca tvā khanāmasi, dvipāc catuṣpād
asmākam mā riṣad devy oṣadhe.* The plural in a is awkward, but
is evidently conditioned by thought of the other subjects in b. c ·
'may they (all) not be harmed, (namely) thy digger, he for whom
we dig thee, our bipeds and quadrupeds' etc Perversely, Kauś
has a singular in d (*mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*) where a plural would be
simpler, it is to be explained as a collective, see under §358 The
others have a different pāda d

samvatsaraś ca kalpatām (most mss of TA. *kalpantām*) TA MahānU.
Preceded by *ardhamāsā māsā ṛtavah* The TA comm knew both
readings, after explaining *kalpatām*, with subject *samvatsarah*, he
goes on· *kalpantām iti bahuvacanapāṭhe sarve 'pi kālamśeṣāh   iti
yojyam* —The formulas *samvatsaro me kalpatām* and *samvatsaras
te kā°* (see Conc) have no real connexion with this one

apām garbham vy adadhāt (MS °*dhuh*) *puruitrā* VS TS. MS KS   The
subject in VS. TS KS is *pitā*, mentioned in the prec pāda, in
MS it either includes the three personages mentioned in pādas
a-c (Viśvakarman, gandharva, and *pitṛ*), or possibly it is a generaliz-
ing plural (cf. §359)

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah TB : *kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS
TA   In the prec two pādas first *dvāvāpṛthivī* are addrest, then
sarasvatī. The verb agrees with the nearer subject in MS. TA ,
while in TB it includes both

savitā iarca ādadhāt (MG °*dhuh*) TB MG   Preceded by. *tubhyam
indro* (MG adds *varuno*) *bṛhaspatih* In MG. the subject is made
to include the gods mentioned in the prec pāda, while in TB it
agrees with *savitā* alone

rucam no dhatta (MS *dhehi*) *bṛhaspate* VS TS MS KS   Preceded by·
indrāgnī tābhih sarvābhih The plural verb includes *indiāgnī* as
well as *bṛhaspate* as subject

ūrdhvayā diśā (ŚŚ *diśā saha*, TS AŚ *ūrdhvāyām diśi*) *yajñah samvatsaro*
(TS ŚŚ add *yajñapatir*, AŚ °*rah prajāpatir*) *mārjayantām* (MS
AŚ °*yatām*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ —KS is unsyntactical in that
it has a plural verb with only two subjects In MS AŚ the verb
is made singular, agreeing with the nearest subject only

yajumānāya dravınam dadhātu (VS ŚB KS * *dadhāta*) AV VS VSK
TS MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ   A long series of gods named
in the preceding, in the majority of texts the verb is sing agreeing
with only the last   On the change of person see §332

sı addhā pı ajā (read *pı ajā*?) *ca medhā ca tılāh śāntım kurvantu svāhā*
MahānU *śraddhāmedhe prajñā tu jātavedah samdadātu svāhā*
TAA   In the latter the verb agrees with *prajñā*, the nearer subject

sūryah (also, *somah*) *pavıtraın sa mā punātu* ApŚ   *vāyuh somah sūrya
ındrah pavıtram te mā punantu* N

hotā yakṣad aśvınau (°*nā*) *saı asvatīm ındram suramnām somānām
pıbatu madantām ıyantu* (KS *ındram sutrāmānam somānām
surāmnām juṣantām vyantu pıbantu somın surāmnah*, AŚ *ındram
[as KS]   pıbantu madantu somān* etc) MS KS AŚ   In MS
subject of *pıbatu* is Indra alone (the last-mentioned god, he is more-
over the soma-drinker par excellence), while all the gods named are
the subjects of the other verbs in MS , and in KS AŚ of *pıbantu*
likewise

dīrgham āyuh kṛnotu me etc , see §365

śarad dhemantah suvıte dadhāta (°*tu*), etc , see §332

   §356. Singular and Dual

tasya nāmnā vṛścāmı (MŚ *vṛścāvo*) *yo 'smān* (MŚ *asmān*) *dveṣṭı*
ApŚ MŚ 'By its name I (we two, 1 c I and the fireplace addressed)
cleave him who hates us '

yena yamasya (AV *yamasya yena*, ApŚ TB omit *yena*) *nıdhınā* (*bahnā*)
carāmı (MS MŚ *carāvah*, SMB † *carānı*) AV TS MS TB TA
ApŚ MŚ SMB   'With what treasure (tribute) of Yama I (we
two) go about '   The dual cunningly draws the god Agni (addressed
in the context) into partnership with the sinner'

punar ātman dadhātu me ApŚ   *punar me jathare dhattām* GB Vait
Preceded in the latter by *agnıś ca tat savıtā ca*, in ApŚ by *agnıṣ
tat somah pṛthvī* (verb agrees with last subject)

sam yujyāva (TS *babhūva*) *sanıbhya ā* RV TS *sam sanuyāva varīṣv ā*
KSA   Preceded in all by *aham ca tvam ca vṛtrahan* The dual
is the natural form, TS (excluding *tvam* from the subject) is
bizarre

avānyāns tantūn kırato dhatto anyān TB   *prānyā tantūns tırate dhatte
anyā* AV Inclusive dual in TB , two separate singulars, each with
subject *anyā*, in AV   That is, two separate actions are performed
by the members of the pair, one apiece, in AV , both actions are done
by both together in TB

saṃjagñāne rodasī sambabhūvatuḥ TB ApŚ . *samānam yonim abhisam-
babhūva* MŚ   Preceded by *yad idam* (MŚ *ado*) *divo yad adah* (MŚ.
idam) *pṛthivyāh* In MŚ the real sense implies a dual subject,
but the verb agrees syntactically with the nearer of the two; note
that it has no dual noun referring to the subject, as have the others

saha dharmam cara (GDh *dharmaś caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh ·
sahobhau caratām dharmam MDh

ayād (ŚŚ *ayāl*) *agnir* (MŚ *ayāṣṭām agnīvarunāv*) *agneh priyā dhāmāni*
MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ MŚ   And, in the same passage: *ayāṭ* (MŚ
ayāṣṭām) *somasya*   , *ayā d (ayāṣṭām) devānām*..., *yakṣad agner
hotuh* (*yakṣato 'gnīvarunayor hotroh*) . ; *yakṣat svam mahimānam*
(*yakṣatah svau mahimānau*); *āyajatām (āyajeyātām)* eyyā *iṣah;
kṛnotu so adhvarān* (°*rā*) *jātavedāh* (*kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau*),
juṣatām (juṣetām) havih   Duals all in MŚ ; singulars (subject Agni)
in various of the others, see Conc

mā mā (KS *mām*, AB *mainam*) *hinsiṣṭam svam* (AB *svām*, KS *yai
svam*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS *āviśāthah*) MS. KS AB : *mā mā hinsīh
svām* (KS *svam*) *yonim āviśantī* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS ŚB
TB. ApŚ   The dual is addressed to soma and *surā* together (both
are mentioned in the preceding), the singular to *surā* and soma,
respectively, alone

§357. Dual and Plural

aśvinā bhiṣajāvatah (MS °*tam*; TB °*ta*) VS MS TB   'O Aśvins,
physicians, aid', or, 'let the Aśvins' etc   In TB the plural is due
to the inclusion of Sarasvatī (mentioned in the preceding) along
with the Aśvins in the subject

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ °*mahai*, MŚ *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait. ApŚ
MŚ PG   The formula is used in dissolving the ritual bond be-
tween *yajamāna* and priests, and dual pronouns occur in the pre-
ceding, the dual of MŚ is therefore quite rational   But the other
texts think of the plurality of priests, together with the *yajamāna*

agnīṣomau tam apa nudatām (Conc quotes °*tam*)   VS ŚB . *agnir
agnīṣomau tam apanudantu*   ŚŚ   Very simple case of 'addition'
to the subject

[*āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī svadhāvantau,*] *gopā me stam, gopāyatam mām, ātmasa-
dau me stam mā mā hinsiṣṭam* AV 5 9 8 [*āyuṣṭad āyupatm* (ms
°*nih,* read *āyuṣkṛd āyupatnī*°) *svadhāvo*] *gopā nah stha*   KS 37 15
[*āyukṛd āyuhpatnī svadhā vo* (so text, and so Caland interprets, not
as voc *svadhāvo*)] *goptryo me stha, gopāyata mā, rakṣata mātmasado
me stha* ApŚ 6 21 1   The dual verbs of AV are apparently

addrest to the *svadhāvantau* (note masculine predicates)   KS. has plural with masc predicates, the masc being really common gender, inclusive of *āyuṣpatnī*, fem , ApŚ has fem plural, presumably including the sing *āyukṛd* (understood as fem ?) and the dual-fem *āyuhpatnī* as subjects, if Garbe and Caland are right in dividing *svadhā vo*, ApŚ has no unmistakably masc subject

5 *Singular verb used alternatively with plural or dual subject felt collectively*

§358. As we mentioned above, §297, a plural or dual verb, justified by strict grammar, may be replaced by a singular verb because the subject is felt collectively as a unit   In the first instance the plural is a *plurale tantum*, *āpah* 'waters', which is unquestionably construed with a singular verb here

āpo 'mṛtam stha (PrānāgU *°tam asi*) Kauś PrānāgU 'O waters, ye are (thou art) nectar !'   We believe the context makes it clear that PrānāgU really feels *āpah* as a collective singular in sense, to explain the form *asi* as attracted to the number of the predicate noun *amṛtam* would be, in our opinion, a mechanical and uninspired interpretation of the passage

Singular and Dual

drupadād iva muñcatām (TB *°tu*, so read with Poona ed) AV TB Preceded by *bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam ca·* 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post '   The singular in TB might, possibly, be explained as under (e), that is as agreeing with the nearer of the two subjects alone, but this seems to us false and mechanical   Rather, the two subjects are taken together as forming a single unitary concept

See also the Kauś reading, 33 9d, quoted under *mā vo riṣat* etc , §355

6 *Generalising forms, with subject indefinite*

§359. We saw above (§291), that the commonest Vedic form used to express an indefinite subject (French *on*, German *man*) is the third plural   This varies frequently with a third singular, which is often likewise indefinite, but sometimes has a definite subject   Indefinite third person forms, either singular or more often plural, likewise vary with first and second person, generally with definite subjects   Such variations between first and third person have been listed above §314 f , the rarer cases of third plural varying with second singular, with one somewhat similar case of second plural and indefinite third singular, are

listed below. The great majority of cases concern only third person
forms, in which the 3d plural is indefinite, while the third singular is
either definite or indefinite

agnaye sam anamat prthivyai sam anamad   TS KSA.: *prthivyām
agnaye sam anaman sa ārdhnot* AV   (And the like with *antarık-
ṣāya sam* etc , see Conc , and others)   'To Agni, to the earth, one
(they) made obeisance, he (it) throve'   Both singular and plural
are indefinite   In the sequel of the same formula, however, TS.
has a definite 3d singular, with subject Agni, while the 3d plural of
AV. is still indefinite

yathāgnih prthivyā sam anamad.   TS · *yathā prthivyām agnaye sam
anamann* .AV.   'As Agni made obeisance to the earth', or, 'as on
the earth they made obeisance to Agni'

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ *alipsata*) AB ŚŚ   'Which they (one)
would not find (even) among *śūdras* '   3d plural aor . 3d sing
desiderative, both indefinite   See §135

svasti nah pūrnamukhah pari krāmatu (HG *°mukham pari krāmantu*)
ApMB. HG.   As the priest (only one, even in HG.) walks around
(cows etc used in the ritual) he says 'With luck may one (they)
walk around full-faced (or, around our full face?).'   The plural, at
least, seems to be generalizing and indefinite in character

nābhi prāpnoti (MŚ *°nuyur*) *nirṛtim parācaih* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*)
TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ · *na tat prāpnoti nirṛtim parācaih* (KŚ. *nirṛtih
parastāt*) KŚ ApŚ   The isolated reading of MŚ is probably a mere
blunder; the passage is otherwise corrupt in the MŚ mss , see
Knauer's note   But it can at a pinch be interpreted as generalizing,
'they' = 'people', *'man'*

brahmajāyeyam iti (AV *°jāyeti*) *ced avocan* (AV *°cat*) RV. AV   Both
sing and plur. are indefinite   'if they have (one has) said, She is a
biahman's wife '

yat te grāvnā cichiduh (MŚ *vichindat*) *soma rājan* TB Vait. MŚ   Both
sing and plur generalizing 'what with the press-stone they have
(one may) cut off, O King Soma '

yat te grāvā bāhucyuto acucyavuh (Vait *acucyot*) TB Vait   In a stanza
which immediately follows the preceding   The plural of TB is
really uninterpretable (comm *acyāvayat*), it must be rendered:
'what of thee (soma) the press-stone, arm-dropped, has let fall.'
But it seems to be felt vaguely as a generalizing plural, no doubt in
mechanical imitation of the plural verb in the preceding and similar
passage, just quoted.

yebhır vācam puṣkalebhır aṿyayan (TB °*yat*) KS TB   The plur ıs
certainly generalızıng, and acc to TB comm also the sıng (*sarvo
jantuh* is supplıed as subject), altho ıt mıght be understood as havıng
sūrya of the prec pāda as subject, cf next

yebhır vācam vıśvarūpebhır aṿyayan (TB °*rūpām samaṿyayat*) KS TB
In the same passage as the prec   Agaın the plur ıs certaınly
generalızıng, and the sıng may be consıdered so wıth as much rıght
as ın the prec , altho thıs tıme TB comm supplıes Prajāpatı from
the prec pāda

vāyuh paśur āsıt tenāyajanta (KSA °*jata*) . VS TS. KSA ŚB   And
the same wıth *agnıh*, and wıth *ādıtyah (sūryah)*   Both forms are
generalızıng 'therewıth they (= people, or, one) sacrıficed '

tāsām svasīr ajanayat (MS *svar ajanan*, KS † *svasīr* [ms *svasūr*]
ajanan) *pañca-pañca* TS MS KS   In TS the subject ıs *dhātā* of
precedıng pāda, ın the others there ıs no defınıte subject (generalız-
ıng plural)

purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*) *vıṣṭhıtam jagat* RV AV VS TS.
MS KSA N   The subject ın AV can only be ındefınıte, 'they',
ıf the readıng ıs correct, the comm reads *vanutām*   In the others
jagat ıs the subject

ya ındrena saratham yātı devah AV   *yenendrasya ı atham sambabhūvuh*
MS KS ApŚ   Ir the latter the subject ıs ındefınıte, ın AV ıt ıs
yah = Agnı (who ıs referred to by *yena* ın the others)

§360. For varıatıons between ındefınıte 3d plural and defınıte 1st
sıngular, see §315 above   In a few cases we fınd the same ındefınıte
3d plural varyıng wıth a defınıte 2d sıngular, and once or twıce, ın the
first two varıants, a somewhat sımılar varıatıon between a generalızıng
3d sıngular (subject once a relatıve pronoun used as ındefınıte) varyıng
wıth a defınıte 2d plural

śamıtāro yad atra sukrtam kṛnarathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat
AB AŚ   *yo duṣkṛtam karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś

tena mā saha śundhata (AV vulgate *śumbhantu*, but SPP *śumbhatu*,
adopted by Whıtney on 18 3 56) RV AV   In RV apparently
the waters are addrest, ın AV the plural form (whıch ıs read by
some mss) mıght also refer to them (and then concerns §337),
the sıngular, ıf correct, can only be ındefınıte (Whıtney, 'one')

yenendrāya samabharah (MS KS °*ı an*) *payānsı* AV TS MS KS   In
AV TS the subject ıs Agnı, ın MS KS ındefınıte   'By whıch
thou dıdst (they dıd) collect mılk for Indra '

nayanto garbham vanām dhiyam dhuh RV.: *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhiyam dhāh* SV   The subject in RV is indefinite 3d plural, in SV it is Agni, to whom the hymn is addrest   See Oldenberg, *RVNoten,* on 10 46 5

yena jayanti (TB *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsai*) AV TB   'By whom people conquer (thou shalt conquer), not be conquered '

ranan (SV *ranā*) *gāvo na yavase* RV SV   'May they (indefinite, Ludwig 'man', in SV , 'do thou') rejoice as cows do in pasture '   Subject Soma in SV

[*sarasvatyā* (*?tyām*) *adhi,manāv* (with variants) *acarkṛṣuh* (*acakṛṣuh*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG   See §§136, 236   The SMB is quoted in the Ccnc , following the older edition, as *sa° adhi vanāva carkṛdhi,* the only possible subject of the 2d person verb would be Indra, who is mentioned (not addrest) in the sequel   But the true reading is no doubt *manāv acakṛṣuh,* as given by Jörgensen]

7 *Change of Number due to Change of Subject, in the same context*

§361. In many cases the shift in verbal number is due to a rearrangement of the syntax of the passage, involving a change of subject   Cf above, §§ 323, 338   Naturally, there is often a change of person as well as number   We begin with cases in which number alone is changed; and first cases of

Third Person, Singular and Plural

brahma devā avīvṛdhan (MS *devan,* KS *devān,* MS KS *avīvṛdhat*) VS MS TS KS ŚB ApŚ   'The gods have increased brahman', or, 'brahman has increased the gods '

catuṣṭomam adadhād (TS *°ṣṭomo abhavad*) *yā turīyā* TS. MS KS : *agnīṣomāv adadhur yā turīyāsīt* AV   Subject in AV. must be *ṛṣayah* in the sequel if the text is correct, but Whitney on 8 9 14 would emend to *adadhād*

apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha (RV * VS ŚB *mahiṣā avardhan*) RV. (both) AV SV VS ŚB TA *vavardha,* intrans , subject Agni, who is the object of *avardhan* (trans , subject *mahiṣāh*)

tayā devāh sutam ā babhūvuh TS KSA TB : *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS MS   See Keith on TS 4 1 2, 1, note 6

yathāmīṣām (AV. *yathaiṣām,* SV *yathaiteṣām,* VS *yathāmī*) *anyo anyam na jānāt* (VS *jānan*) RVKh AV. SV VS.   The plural in VS is due to the fact that *amī* is made the subject   'So that one of them may not know another', or, 'so that they may not know one the other.'

ekapadī dvipadī   *bhuvanānu prathatām svāhā* TS   *ekapādam dvipādam tripādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathantām* KS   *ekapadīm catuṣpadīm aṣṭāpadīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS   ŚB   The TS form is intrans, 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds, the others have a trans verb with indefinite subject, 'let them spread her out' etc   This might be grouped under the preceding subdivision, but for the change of subject

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB   ŚŚ   See §30, end

tābhih samrabdham anv avindan (TB *samrabdho avidat*) *ṣad urvīh* AV. TB   In AV *ṣad urvīh* is the subject, in TB it is made the object, the subject being *samrabdho* (= Rohita)

anvātānsīt tvayi (MŚ *anvātānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS   TS   MS   KS   ŚB   The subject is somewhat obscure in both cases, Mahīdhara on VS understands *ṛṣayah*, despite singular verb!   MS seems to take the subject to be *pitarah* in the preceding pāda (the others have *pitarā* or °*ram*).

apochatu (AV. °*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV   AV   In RV the subject of the (transitive) verb is doubtless Indra, who is mentioned in the preceding verse, 'let him shine away the paired *kimīdins*'   In AV the verb is intransitive, and the subject *kimīdinah* 'let the *kimīdins* fade away'

achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh KS · *achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtā cit*) AV   TS   VS   MS   Keith on TS 4 1 8 1 not unfairly calls the KS reading 'absurd', but the psychology of it is plain, it is thinking of *srucah* in the next line   In the others the subject is Agni

āvir bhuvad (ArS *bhuvann*) *arunīr yaśasā goh* (ArS *gāvah*) RV   ArS   The subject is changed from *arunīh* (singular in RV) to *gāvah*, no doubt because ArS feels *arunīh* to be a plural adjective

pibāt somam mamadad (AS   ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ   ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*) AV   AŚ   ŚŚ   'May it (soma) exhilarate him at the sacrifice', 'may the sacrifices exhilarate him'

aryamno agnim pary etu pūṣan (ApMB *pari yantu kṣipram*) AV   ApMB   The subject is the bride in AV, the kinsfolk (or priests?) in ApMB

āpo malam iva prānaikṣīt (ApŚ *prāniyan*) AV   ApŚ   Subject is a plant in AV, in ApŚ waters, the verb being drawn into the simile

tam rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhat TS   *tam rakṣasva, mā tvā dabhan* MS 1 2 13 22 12, VS 5 39, KS 3 1 (in Conc quoted under the two parts separately, but this is the true parallel to the TS passage, instead of *tān rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan*, to which Conc gives a

cross-reference but which is an unrelated passage). *rakṣasva* is
addrest to Savitar, *rakṣadhvam* to the gods in general (cf. Keith on
TS 1 3 4 2) *tam* refers to soma, which in TS is made the subject
of *dabhat*, 'may it not fail you', the others understand *dabh-* in a
different sense 'may they (indefinite, acc to Mahīdhara, the
asuras) not injure thee (Savitar)'

niṣkṛītaḥ sa (TS °*krīto 'yaṁ*, KS MŚ. °*krītās te*) *yajñiyaṁ bhāgam etu*
(KS MŚ. *bhāgam yantu*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. The subject varies
from the *paśupati* to cattle.

vi parjanyam (TS °*yāḥ*) *sṛjanti* (MS. KS *pra parjanyaḥ sṛjatām*) *rodasī*
anu RV TS. MS KS In RV. the subject is the Maruts, in the
others Parjanya, sing or (TS) plural (cf. §349).

sūro aktuṣv ā yaman (SV. *yamat*) RV SV Preceded by· *mā na indrābhy*
ādiṣah RV · 'O Indra, let not (evil) intentions aim at us in the
light of the sun (or, intentions of the sun by night)' cf Neisser,
Zum Wbch des RV s v *aktu*, Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* 2 144 In
SV. *sūro* is evidently conceived as nom subject of *yamat*, presum-
ably with *ādiṣah* object.

§362. Second Person, Singular and Plural

evo ṣv asman muñcatā vy aṅhaḥ RV MS KS ApŚ · *evā tvam asmat pra*
muñcāt† vy aṅhaḥ TS The Vasus are addrest, even in TS , in the
preceding half verse, TS here changes rather lamely to an address
to Agni, who is addrest in the following pāda.

ihehaiṣām kṛnuhi (TS MS KS TB *kṛnuta*) *bhojanāni* RV AV. VS.
TS MS KS. ŚB TB Subject in RV is doubtless Indra, to
whom the hymn is addrest, but no subject is mentioned in this
verse (Mahīdhara on VS understands Soma), several texts make
the verb plural, referring presumably to gods in general

annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB '*smāsu*) *dhatta* (MS ApŚ *dhehi*) VS MS.
KS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ All texts have adjoining formulae where
Agni is spoken of in the third person, in this, MS ApŚ obviously
regard Agni as addrest directly, while the other (and presumably
more original) reading addresses it to some plural concept (TB
comm gods, VS comm priests)

sam pra cyavadhvam upa (TS *anu*) *sam pra yāta* VS TS MS KS ŚB.·
agne cyavasva sam anu pra yāhi MS Followed by.

agne (MS *āvis*) *patho devayānān kṛnudhvam* (MS * *kṛnuṣva*) VS TS.
MS (both) KS ŚB *agne pathaḥ kalpaya devayānān* AV. In
MS both forms are consistent with the context, since they are
addrest (in adjoining stanzas) to Agni and to *devāḥ* respectively

In the others only AV is grammatically 'correct', since no other
subject is named along with Agni and the plural is irrational,
Mahīdhara on VS blithely takes *kṛnudhvam* as meaning *kṛnuṣva;*
but two other plural imperatives occur in the preceding in all YV
texts, and they, like *kṛnudhvam*, are evidently addrest to the gods
in general

revati predhā yajñapatim āviśa MS KS · *revati yajamāne priyam dhā
āviśa* VS ŚB *revatūr yajñapatim priyadhāṁśata* TS ApŚ   Acc
to the Tait ritual texts (see Keith 45 n 5), addrest to the *vapāśra-
taṇās*, the two *darbha-*stalks and the *plakṣa-*twig, but acc to TS
comm , to the members of the sacrificial animal   Acc to VS
comm , Vāc is addrest

vratam kṛnuta (VSK adds· *vratam kṛnu vratam kṛnuta*) VS VSK TS
KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ   Acc to Mahīdhara on VS 4 11 and KŚ , the
formula *vratam kṛnuta*, 'prepare the fast-food', is to be repeated
thrice   The comm on KŚ says it is addrest to the *adhvaryu* etc ,
i e the *adhvaryu* and his assistants   The three-fold repetition is ⌐
actually found in VSK , but the second time with singular instead
of plural; we may no doubt assume that this form (if textually
sound) was addrest to a single priest (the adhvaryu?)

anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi) joguvām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ
On this·obscure verse see Edgerton, *AJP* 40 188, 192   Four
other parallel verbs, before and after this one in the same stanza,
are all singular, addrest to Agni   The subject of *vayata* is doubtful
KS makes it consistent with the others, of course secondarily

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV. AV.. *ā sthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV
Followed by·

ata inoṣi karvarā purūni RV AV . *ata invata karvarāni bhūri* AV   In
an obscure hymn to Indra, who is the subject in RV , in one AV
passage there is a sudden change of subject (to whom?) in the
second half of the stanza, the first half of which is still addressed to
Indra, here also

§363. Singular and Dual

dhattam rayim sahavīram (ApMB *daśavīram) vacasyave* RV ApMB ·
rayim dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam AV   Dual addrest to the Aśvins,
who are addrest in the next pādas also in AV   The singular must be
understood as addrest to the bride, but it is not unfairly described
as 'senseless' (Whitney)

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādatah AV   *yad apsaradror uparasya* (so
Conc , but KS ed °*drūr upa*°, see note in text, ApŚ *apsararūpara-*

sya) *khādati* KS ApŚ   In AV the subject is apparently the two *aranis*, in the others it must be Agni, but the passage is so obscure that Caland in his translation of ApŚ makes no attempt to render it.

atha jivrir (ApMB *athā jīvrī*, RV *adhā jivrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV AV. ApMB   (The true AV. reading seems to be *jirvir*, see Whitney's note)   In RV addrest to the married couple, altho in the preceding pāda the bride alone is addrest   For this reason, doubtless, the later texts also address this pāda to the bride, by assimilation to the preceding

ṛtunā somam pibatam (KS °*tu*, MŚ °*tām*) KS MŚ ApŚ   Subject Aśvins in ApŚ MŚ (*aśvinādhvaryū* MŚ), an unnamed priest in KS

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛṇethām (MS MŚ *pṛṇa*, LŚ *prīnāthām svāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ   'With ghee be filled (gratified), O heaven and earth!', or, 'fill heaven and earth with ghee' (addrest to the post)

varunasya skambhasarjanam asi (KS °*ny asi*, VS. ŚB °*nī sthah*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB MahānU   See Keith on TS 1 2 8 2, note 7.

§364. Dual and Plural

tāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB   *emām anu sarpata* MS   In SV said of a pair of horses

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān;* PG *yenākṣyār*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB °*siñcatam*, PG. °*tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG   In AV. the expression is made passive, with *akṣā*(*h*) as subject, see §§332, 293

§365. Singular and Plural, with accompanying Change of Person

We list here only variants in which 2d and 3d person forms, singular and plural, interchange   A few stray cases of 1st person interchanging with 2d and 3d, with shift of number, will be found above, §§302, 304, 312, 323

svar (TS *suvar*) *na śukram uṣaso vi didyutuh* (RV °*tah*) RV TS MS   'Like bright heaven the dawns have shone forth (or, make thou the dawns to shine forth) '

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu VS ŚB . *vasūnām rudrānām ādityānām sadasi sīda* (KS *sadanam asi*, MS *sado 'si srucām yonih*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ

paktaudanasya sukṛtām etu lokam AV   (in next stanza) *imam paktvā sukṛtām eta lokam* AV.   Subject of *eta* is the grains composing the porridge (*odana*), that of *etu* is *paktā*, the cooker of the *odana*   Conscious *vikāra*

hṛdo astv antaram taj jujoṣat (TA. *tad yuyota*) RV KS TA.   'Let (our song) be within (Parjanya's) heart, may he enjoy it'   TA comm regards *yuyota* as addressed to the priests. 'unite it (viz our song, to Parjanya's heart) '   But the reading is hardly more than a corruption, it has phonetic aspects (*j y*)

deveṣu naḥ sukṛto (*mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (*brūta, brūyāt*), and others, see §104, t   The 3d person *brūyāt* is probably corrupt

yāś ca (*yā*) *devīr* (*devyo*) *antān* (with variants) *abhito 'dadanta* (*tatantha*); see §220   The form *tatantha* is corrupt, and may not even be intended for a 2d person

niṣkam iva prati muñcata (*°tām*) AV. (both)   'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc

indraṃ samatsu bhūṣata SV . *indraḥ samatsu bhūṣatu* RV   AV   Preceded by *ā no viśvāsu havyaḥ* (SV *°yam*)   'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV praise ye Indra),—who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict'

salakṣmā (MS KS *°ma*) *yad viṣurūpam* (RV AV *°pā*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB   *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS   In RV AV of Yama (and Yamī), in YV different context, and scarcely interpretable 'when what is (ye that are) different become(s) similar.'

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu naḥ (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB N   'Bring ye (a hymn) to him of sharp weapons, may he hear us (hear ye)!'   In TB the verb is assimilated mechanically to *bharatā*, its secondariness is attested by the strong form of the stem

ā sve yonau niṣīdatu (KS *°ta*) RV TS MS KS AB   'May he (the god) sit (or, sit ye—priests) in his (your) own home'

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (MŚ *°tām*, ApŚ *juṣatām*) *haviḥ svāhā* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

indrāya pathibhir vahān (MS *vaha*) VS MS KS TB   Original subject is Aśvins and Sarasvatī, in MS awkwardly changed to a priest

yānti śubhrā rinann apaḥ RV   *śubhā yāsi rinann apaḥ* AV   Subject Maruts in RV , in AV Rohita

ud dharṣaya maghavann (AV *satvanām*) *āyudhāni* RV. AV. SV VS TS   *ud dharṣantām maghavan vājināni* AV.   'Let the energies be aroused, O Māghavan!' or, 'arouse the weapons, O M (the weapons of the warriors) '

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG *°sā*) *sam vyayantu* (PG *°yasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG · *tās tvā jarase sam vyayantu* AV   'Let these (goddesses) wrap thee up unto (with) old age'; or, 'wrap thyself up' etc

śurā naḥ śamtamā bhava (TA also *bhavantu*) AV AA TA (both).
AŚ LŚ TA by an addition in one form of the variant introduces a
different subject; see Whitney on AV 7 68.3

svadhābhir yajñam sukṛtam juṣasva (TB *yajñam prayatam juṣantām*)
RV VS TB. In the original the subject is Agni, in TB it is made
the *pitṛs*, obviously because in Brāhmaṇa times *svadhā* belongs
particularly to them

ūrgham āyuḥ kṛṇotu me (AV * ApMB *vām*) AV. JB Kauś ApMB :
āyuṣmantam karota mā (RVKh *karotu mām;* KS *kṛṇota mā*)
RVKh KS. TA BDh : *sarvam āyur dadhātu me* ApŚ Occurs in
several contexts in AV., one of these (7. 33 1) is the same·which
occurs in all the other texts except Kauś and ApMB , the others are
quite different In the one verse found in the majority of texts,
this pāda is found at the end; in the prec various gods (last, Agni)
are invoked in the 3d person for blessings on 'me' ('you' KS ApŚ),
here Agni alone is invoked, likewise in the 3d person, in all but
KS TA BDh , where we have instead a 2d person address to
the plurality of gods mentioned before Note that the strong stem-
forms *karota* and *kṛṇota* are poor. This variant might be classed
in §355.

8 *Change of Number due to Change of Context, with different Subject*

§366. In a large number of cases, as in the case of variations in
Person, the shift of number is due to the use of the formula in a different
context, involving change of the verb's subject In some cases, as in
the preceding subdivision, both person and number are changed, we
list·these cases at the end of this subdivision in so far as they concern
shifts between second and third persons along with shift of number A
few cases of the same sort showing first person in variation with second
or third, and accompanying shift of number, will be found among
the Person variants, above, §§303, 304, 310, 324 Included are some
ritualistic *ūhas* and *ṅkāras*

§367. Singular, Dual, and Plural

akṣans tān VS KS TB *aghastām tān* MS. TB : *aghat tam* VS All
aorists from root *ghas* Contexts are different tho related, and
with different subjects See also under *akṣan* in Conc.

tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda VS TS etc (see Conc) *dhruvaḥ*
sīda VS ŚB TA .. *dhruve sīdatam* VS *dhruvāḥ sīdata* TS
Also: *tena brahmaṇā dhruvāḥ sīdata* (and, *dhruvā sīda*) KS.
(both), *tena chandasā* . and *tenarṣiṇā* . , see Conc

prānāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK TS ŚB. *prānāpānābhyām me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ In MŚ addrest to Upāṅśu and Antaryāma cups, in the others to Upāñśu alone.

ā no yātam (yāhy) upaśruti RV. (both) Addrest to the Aśvins or to Indra

vidhṛtir asi TA ŚŚ · *vidhṛtī sthah* MS Different contexts

diraś ca gmaś ca rājathah (rājasi) RV (both) See *RVRep.* 59.

rayim gṛnatsu didhṛtam (dhāraya) RV (both) See *RVRep* 271, 528

rāyasposam yajamāneṣu dhattam (dhehi; dhāraya) RV. (all)

sutānām pītim arhathah (arhasi) RV (both): *somānām pī° arhathah* RV. SV. See *RVRep.* 137

mā mā sam tāptam (ApŚ *tāpsīh*) VS TS KS. TB PB ŚŚ LŚ. ApŚ ApMB HG MG · *mā modoṣiṣṭam* (ŚŚ *modoṣīh*) MS ŚB. ŚŚ. The contexts are quite different and the formulas are only in part related to each other E g in TS Indra-Viṣṇu are the subject, in ŚB two fires, in ApŚ Agni, in ŚŚ *pṛthivī*

viṣurūpe ahanī dyaur wāsi (TA.* *iva sthah*) RV SV. TS. MS KS TA (thrice). N In one TA passage addrest to *dyāvāpṛthivī*, in the rest to a single deity Followed in same passage by:

viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvah (SV. °*van;* TA * *avathah svadhāvantau*), same texts

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś † *muñcatam*) AV Kauś. In Kauś addrest to the Aśvins, in AV probably to an amulet Cf *apriyah prati muñcatām*, §30

pā indra (and, *pātam narā*) *pratibhṛtasya madhvah* RV (both) Dual addrest to Indra-Vāyu

āre bādhethām (MS * KS * *bādhasva*) *nirṛtim parācaih* RV. TS MS (both) KS (both): *bādhasva* (AV. *bādhethām*) *dūre* (AV. *dūram,* TS *dveṣo) ni° pa°* RV. AV. TS There are three different contexts; the sing is addressed to Varuna, the dual to Soma-Rudra or Mitra-varuna In some cases this is followed by:

kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV. TS * *mumuktam) asmat* (KS *asmāt*) RV AV. TS (both) MS KS See preceding.

ā modṛcah pātam (KS * *pāhi*) MS KS (both). *te mā pātam āsya yaj-ñasyodṛcah* VS TS ŚB The sing form of KS is a *vikāra* of the other (in close proximity).

rāyas poṣam (KS˙ *tvaṣṭah poṣāya) vi syatu* (AV. MS. KS *sya) nābhim asme* (AV *asya*) AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ : *r. p vi syatām n a* RV. MS. TB Subject of the dual is Soma-Pūṣan, of the sing. Tvaṣṭar (nom˙ or voc , see §329, end).

ehy aśmānam ā tiṣṭha AV ŚG Kauś MG : *ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam*
ApMB HG . *ā rohemam aśmānam* PG · *imam aśmānam ā roha*
AG. SMB GG : *etam aśmānam ā tiṣṭhatam* MG   Followed by

aśmeva tvam sthirā (MG ApMB ᵃ AVPpp *sthiro*) *bhava* AVPpp (for
AV vulgate 2 13 4b *aśmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG ŚG SMB PG
ApMB HG MG : *aśmeva yuvām sthirau bhavatam* MG   The 2d
(dual) version of MG in a *vikāra* of the other

asmān su jigyuṣas kṛdhi (*kṛtam*) RV. (both)   Subjects Indra. Indra-
Varuna

asme (AV ᵃ *asyai*) *rayim sarvavīram ni yachatam* (AV. *yacha*) RV. AV
(both)

bādhatām (TB °*etām*) *dveṣo abhayam* (AV ᵃ adds *nah*) *kṛnotu* (TB *kṛnu-
tām*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS TB Subjects Indra Tiṣya and
Brhaspati

§369. Dual and Plural

sumnāya sumninī sumne mā dhattam TS TB ApŚ . *sumne sthah sumne
mā dhattam* VS ŚB · *sumnāyuvah* (KS °*yavah*) *sumnyāya sumnam*
(KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS   The plural occurs in a different
context from the dual

anu tvā viśve devā avantu (KS *viśve avantu devāh*) KS TB : *anu mūm
mitrāvarunāv ihāvatām* AA

śansāmo   AB ApŚ *śansāvom, śansāvo*   AB 3 12 1 GB Vait
And other forms, see Conc   Sacrificial exclamations, based upon
verb-forms (dual referring to *hotar* and *adhvaryu*, plural to priests
as a group?)

te māvantu AV TS PG   *te* (and, *tau*) *māvatām* AV (in same hymn,
vikāras)   See further in Conc under *tāni no 'vantu*

pra na spārhābhir ūtibhis tireta (°*tam*) RV (both) Maruts Indra-
Varuna

rayim dhattam (*dhatta*; *dhattho*) *vasumantam puruksum* (*śatagvinam*)
RV (all)   See *RVRep* 149

śarma ca stho varma ca sthah VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ · *śarma ca
stha varma ca stha* KS ApŚ   Quite different contexts and subjects

sapatnān sahiṣīmahi AV 3 6 4d; *sa*° *sahiṣīahi* AV 19 32 5d, *sapa'-
nīm me sahāvahai* RV. AV 3 18 5d ApMB   So the AV vulgate,
but *sahiṣīvahi* is an emendation (see Whitney's note), the mss of
19 32 5 read °*mahi*   This stanza is a repetition, with modifications
to suit the new context, of 3 18 5, the dual is there proper, as the
subject is *ubhe sahasiati* of pāda c, referring to the amulet and the
speaker of the charm (there a woman, in 19 32 5 changed to

ubhau sahasvantau because the speaker ıs a man) The dual ıs
equally requıred by the sense ın 19 32 5. Yet the vulgate Athar-
van readıng here ıs clearly *sahışīmahı* (all mss and comm , altho
Ppp has the correct *°vahı*, Barret, *JAOS* 46. 42), whıch should be
retaıned, obvıously the entıre pāda 3 6 4d, whıch belongs to a quıte
dıfferent context where the plural ıs requıred, has been mechanically
ımported wıthout change ınto 19 32 5

etā asadan sukṛtasya loke TS. TB pratīkas, *etā asadan,* and (ūha) *etā
asadatām,* ApŚ

§370. Sıngular and Plural

marutām prasave (VS ŚB *°vena*) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB In TS addrest to the horses, ın the others to the charıot.
Dıfferent contexts

tasmā u rādhah kṛnuta praśastam (AV *kṛnuhı supraśastam*) RV AV

anu mā rabhadhvam (ŚŚ *rabhasva*) KS ApŚ ŚŚ Hardly to be called
varıants, dıfferent contexts

ındrasya bhāga stha AV : *ı° bhāgo 'sı* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also
devasya savıtur bhāga etc and others

dvışatām (AV *durıtāt*) *pātv anhasah* RV AV · *durıtāt pāntv anhasah*
(LŚ *vıśvatah*) AV. LŚ Two dıfferent contexts; verb approprıate
ın both In AV we may suspect a mutual *rapprochement* ın
phraseology

edam barhır nı ṣīdata (AŚ ŚŚ *ṣīda nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Dıfferent
contexts

cakṣur me tarpayata (PG *tarpaya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Applıed
to a dıfferent context ın PG Sımılarly wıth *śrotram, apānaṁ,
prānāpānau,* etc , and lıkewıse

prānam me tarpayāta (ŚŚ *tṛmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. ŚŚ

mohayıtvā nıpadyate (RVKh *prapadyante*) RV 10 162 6b (correct ref),
AV RVKh MG.

vıśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah (VS ŚB *°bhyas,* MS *danṣṭrābhyas*) *pāhı* (TS.
TB *pāta,* PG *parıpāhı sarvatah*) VS. TS MS ŚB TB TA PG
In TS addrest to the arrows used ın the *rājasūya;* ın VS acc to
Mahīdhara to *mahāvīradakṣınabhūmı*

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ *dhehı*) AV AŚ *varco mayı dhehı* etc , see Conc
Numerous ıtems ın dıfferent contexts, hardly to be consıdered
varıants

apo (TS *udno*) *dattodadhım bhıntta* (or *bhınta*) VS TS MS KS . *udno
dehy udadhım bhındhı* KS † There are two dıfferent contexts, both
of whıch occur ın TS MS KS In one the plural ıs approprıate,

gods being the subject   In the other (TS 4 7 13 2, MS 2 12 3,
KS 18 15) only a singular is appropriate, the subject required being
Agni, altho KS is the only text that has the proper sing form
Apparently MS TS copied mechanically from the other passage
where the plur is required   VS has the formula only in this latter
(properly sing) context, but nevertheless has like TS MS plur
forms, blandly interpreted by Mahīdhara as singulars (*datta dehi,
bhintta bhinddhi*)—At the end of the same passages occurs the
following formula

tato no (KS *mā*) *vṛṣṭyāvata* (VS † and KS once, °*āva*) VS TS MS KS
    ApŚ MŚ   Again KS varies consistently according to the subject,
    and is this time joined by VS   (not noted in Conc), leaving only
    Tait and Maitr texts with inconsistent plurals where singulars
    are required

yām indrena (AV. adds *samdhām*) *samadadhvam* (TS *samadhadhvam*,
    AV *samadhatthāh*) AV TS MS KS (so correct Conc), see also
    Conc under *iyam vah sā*   , *eṣā vas sā*   The contexts are differ-
    ent, and both verbs are appropriate

āyātu (TB * *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣānah* (TB * °*nāh*) VS MS KS
    TB (both)   Different contexts, subjects Indra   Ādityas

apa jahi (*hata*) *parigham* ChU (both). Addrest to singular and plural
    deities respectively.

āyur me yacha (ApŚ * *yachata*) MS KS ApŚ (both) MŚ

ūrjam no dhehi (MS KS each once, *dhatta*) *dvipade catuṣpade* VS TS
    MS KS ŚB TB AG ŚG. ApMB PrānāgU   Occurs frequently,
    in several different contexts, sing number is appropriate in all but
    one which is addrest to *agnayah*, plur , the prec pāda being. *te
    virājam* (KS *samrājam*) *abhisamyantu sarve* (correct Conc for MS),
    MS 1 6 2d 88 2 and 89 7, KS 7 14d   Here KS , and once MS ,
    have the correct form *dhatta*   In MS 88 2 the *samhitā* mss have
    incorrectly *dhehi* (note that this form of the variant occurs, in
    another context which requires the singular, in the same section of
    MS 86 19), the p p *dhatte* (!), pointing to the correct *dhatta*, which
    should probably be read here

yasyauṣadhīh prasarpatha RV VS   *yasyāñjanu prasarpasi* AV   Fol-
    lowed in same verse by

tato yakṣmam vi bādhadhve (AV *bādhase*) RV AV. VS

tatremam yajñam yajamānam ca dhehi (MŚ 5 2 16 14d *dhatta*, correct
    Conc) Vait KŚ MŚ (both) ApŚ Kauś   In one of the two

occurrences in MŚ the verb is made plural because several priests
are addrest, in the others only one is addrest

mayi ramasva (LŚ *ramadhvam*) SMB GG LŚ   Hardly to be considered
variants

karat AŚ · *karan* (*ūha* of *karat*) AŚ

gātum vritvā gātum ihi MS ApŚ   *devā gātuvido gātum vritvā* (VSK °*tum
itvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB   In the sing
form secondarily addrest to the animal as it is slaughtered

tasyāgne bhājayeha mā TB · *tasya bhājayateha nah* RV. AV SV VS. TS
MS KS TA ApMB   The plural is addrest to waters

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV   *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

mama cittam upāyasi AV · *mama cittam cittenānvehi* HG   *mama cittam
anu cittebhir eta* AV   Hardly variants

pranaya Vait MŚ · *pranayata* AŚ   To plurality of priests in AŚ
Hardly variants?

mā me prajāyā (correct Conc). *prasrpa motsrpa* (also, °*pata*, °*pata*)
TA. 1 14. 2–4 (each thrice)   Modulations of the same formula
with different subjects

yukṣvā (*yuṅgdhvam*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV (both)   Subject Agni· Maruts

rayim ca nah sarvavīram ni yachata MS KS AŚ SMB ·.   *ni yacha* AV.
(see Conc for other sing parallels)   As between singular and
plural, quite different contexts and subjects

rāṣṭram amuṣmai datta VS TS MS ŚB, ApŚ MŚ   *rā° am° dehi* VS
ŚB.   The latter in stanza preceding the former, modulation with
change of subject

śarma yacha catuṣpade AV : *śarma yachata dvipade catuṣpade* RV

sindhor ūrmā vy akṣaran (SV °*rat*) RV. SV   Different contexts, sub-
ject in RV *indavah*, in SV *ayam* (= *somah*) *sa yah*

sukṛtām loke sīdata (AV *sīda*) AV TS MS   Subjects *dakṣināḥ:
odanah*

sradantu (*svadāti*, °*tu*) *havyam* (*yajñam*) *madhunā ghṛtena*.   Different
contexts and subjects· plural form RV AV VS MS KS TB N ;
sing VS MS KS TB   The form *svadātu*, MS only, seems to be a
blend of the other two

yaśah stha yaśasvī bhūyāsam ApŚ (subject waters). *yaśo 'si yaśo 'ham
tiayi bhūyāsam* (ApMB adds *asau*) ApMB HG (subject a man)

viśiā rūpāni puṣyata (°*yasi*) AV (both)

lokam me yaiamānāya vinda (and, ūha, *vindata*) ChU (both)   Subjects
Agni or Vāyu   Ādityas

yajñam nah pātu (TB *pāntu*) *rajasah* (TB *vasavah*) *parasmāt* (TB ApŚ.
   purastāt) MS. KS TB ApŚ

agna ājyasya vyantu vaujhak; *agnım ā° vetu vau°*; *agnınājyasya vyantu
   vau°*; *agnır ā° vetu vau°*, all ŚB 2 2 3 19.

apām oṣadhīnām rasa stha TS. TB (not MŚ !) *apām puṣpam asy
   oṣadhīnām rasah* . PB TB LŚ ApŚ

āpura stā mā   pūrayata ŚŚ : *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS AŚ :
   āpṛno 'sı sampṛnah (ApŚ corruptly, *āpṛṇoṣı sampṛṇa*)   *ā pṛṇa*
   ŚŚ ApŚ   Four quite different contexts with different subjects

ımam me agadam kṛta (AV. *kṛdhı*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB   To
   one or more herbs; different contexts

kratum punīta (and, *punata*) *ānuṣak* RV. (both)   3d sg and pl ımpf
   mıd

dıvas (SV *dıvah*) *pṛṣthāny āruhan* (AV * °hat*) AV. (both) SV Subjects
   Āñgırasas: Agni.

§371. Change of Person (between 2d and 3d) with Change of Number
   (a) Sıngular, Dual, and Plural

sunoty ā ca dhāvatı RV.: *sunuta ā ca dhāvatah* RV : *sunotā ca dhāvata*
   AV. Cf *RVRep* 315   Verbs are all appropriate to the respective
   contexts

   (b) Sıngular and Dual

chinttam śıro apı pṛṣtīh śṛnītam AV · *pṛṣtīr vo 'pı śṛnātu yātudhānāh*
   AV.   Subjects are Aśvıns and Rudra, hardly comparable

pıbatam somyam madhu RV. (quınquıes) SV : *pıbātı so° ma°* RV.
   (semel) SV.

madhvā yajñam mımıkṣatam (and, *°tı*) RV. (both)

śam no bhūtam dvıpade śam catuṣpade RV MS KS . *śam no bhava* etc ,
   śam na edhı etc , *śam no astu* etc , ın many texts and different
   connexıons, see Conc

   (c) Dual and Plural

madhye dıvah svadhayā mādayante (RV * °yethe*) RV. (both) AV. VS
   See *RVRep* 118

ye kılālena tarpayatho (and, *tarpayantı*) *ye ghṛtena* AV (both)   Subjects
   Heaven and Earth. Maruts

ındravantau (ŚŚ *°tā*) *havır ıdam juṣethām* TB ApŚ ŚŚ . *ındravanto ha°
   ı° juṣantām* TB ApŚ. *Vıkāra*, subjects *śunāsīrau   pıtarah*

   (d) Sıngular and Plural

ganān me mā vı tītṛṣah (MŚ *°ṣat*) TS MŚ · *ganān me mā vy arīrıṣah*
   Vaıt · *ganā me mā vı tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB : *ganair mā mā vı tītṛṣata*
   MS   See §337

rāyaś ca poṣair abhi nah sacadhvam (and, *sacatām*) AV (both)

juṣasva havyam āhutam RV AV. VS TS MS KS · *juṣantāṁ*   TS.
MS KS   The last occurs in the same stanza as in RV. 3 22. 4 =
VS 20 90, both of which read *juṣantām yajñam adruhaḥ*   Con-
tamination between the two pādas is obvious

svām yonim api gachata (TB ApŚ * °*tu*) TB ApŚ (both) AŚ ApMB
HG

iha sphātim sam ā vahān (*vaha*) AV. (both)   The second is a *vikāra*
of the first

ārāc cid dveṣah sanutar yuyotu (RV * °*ta*) RV (both) AV. VS TS MS
KS N   *ārāc cid dveṣo vṛṣano yuyota* RV

iṣam ūrjam yajamānāya dhehi (Vait *dattvā*; AV. *duhrām*) AV VS. TS.
MS KS ŚB Vait   Three different contexts, in AV , Vait , and
YV texts respectively

mamāmitrān vi vidhyata (and, °*tu*) AV. (both)   Cf. also· *amitrān no
vi vidhyatām* AV

viśvam puṣyanti vāryam RV. AV   *vi° puṣyasi vā°* RV. AV. SV.   See
RVRep 99

svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (MG, °*tu naḥ*) RV. KS. AB MG   Knauer
assumes that *maruto* is understood as a nom. sing and made the
subject of *dadhātu* (perhaps for *māruto*). Certainly no 3d person is
construable, Knauer's suggestion is hardly more than one of despair.
But all his mss read thus, and the Baroda ed. (*GOS* 35, 1926)agrees.

9 *Corruptions and Errors*

§372. The following are merely corruptions or errors of one kind or
another   Some involve variants of person as well as number
(a) Singular and Dual

antas tiṣṭhatu (MG °*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuḥ* SMB HG MG   All
mss of MG read °*to*, and the Baroda ed agrees   The form cannot
be interpreted grammatically It must be either a phonetic
variant (*u o*) or a mere corruption See Knauer's note

śrotrāya me varcodā (TS °*dau*) *varcase* (MŚ omits) *pavasva* (TS *pave-
thām*) VS VSK. TS ŚB MŚ. So the Conc wrongly supplies in
TS 3 2 3 2, after the abbreviation *śrotrāya* which is all that the
text reads   It is addrest to a soma-cup (*graha*), and clearly a
singular expression, not a dual, is understood   No variant exists.
Similarly under *aṅgebhyo me.*
(b) Dual and Plural

supippalā oṣadhīh kartanāsme (AV *kartam asmai,* VSK *kartam asme*)
AV. VS VSK MS   Subject is *Śunāsīrā* (dual)   Mahīdhara can
find nothing to say except that the plural form *kartana* is used in the
sense of the dual   It is, indeed, hard to imagine who else may be
included in the subject (gods in general?)

viśvāh pinvathah (TB *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB   The TB
form is to be taken as intending *pinvathah,* dual (sandhi before
*s+*cons).

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnam nah (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA   *apsara-
sām anudattānṛnāni* MS   The MS reading is badly corrupt,
anudatta is uninterpretable, p p *anu, dattāni, ṛnāni,* which is just
as bad

indrāvathuh (VSK *°dhuh,* KS * TB ApŚ *°tam*) *kāvyair* (TB ApŚ
karmanā) *dansanābhih* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB
ApŚ   The VSK reading is only a corruption, phonetic in char-
acter (sonant for surd); and yet a 3d person (dual!) seems required
in all texts; see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 131 5

(c) Singular and Plural

punsah kartur mātary āsiṣikta JB   *punsā kartrā mātari mā ni siñca*
KBU   The Conc says 'read *siñcata*' for KBU   In any case a 2d
plural form must be read, according to Deussen, *60 Up* 25, three
mss read *mā asiṣikta,* nearly as in JB

mātā jaghanyā sarpati (HG *gachanti,* read *gachati,* Kirste) ApMB HG

pibā somam indra mandatu (Svidh erroneously *mandantu*) *tvā* RV AV
SV TS AB KB PB AA AŚ ŚŚ Vait Svidh

hastacyutī (SV *°tam*) *janayanta* (SV † *°yata*) *praśastam* RV SV KS KB
ApŚ MŚ N   Subject is *naro,* in preceding pāda, unless this is
felt in SV as singular, from the later stem *nara,* the verb-form is
uninterpretable   Benfey translates as plural, regarding the form
as anomalous

aram aśvāya gāyati (SV *°ta*) RV SV   Subject is the n pr Śrutakakṣa
in the next pāda (nom in RV , voc in SV)   The plural verb in
SV is anomalous, it is perhaps vaguely felt as including the asso-
ciates of Ś (cf §§353 ff), or as a plural of respect (? unlikely)

agnihotreṇedam havir ajuṣatāvīvṛdhata (AŚ *°vīvṛdhanta*) *maho jyāyo
'kṛta* TS AŚ   Read in both texts (with TB Poona ed) *agnir
hotreṇedam   °vṛdhata   * AŚ is doubly corrupt   In the same
passage, just before this, the same formula with *devā ājyapā(h)* as
subject, read in AŚ (1 9 5) *maho jyāyo 'krata* (text *'kṛta,* this
section is listed as a separate formula in Conc , see §367)

tam te duścakṣā māva khyan TS. 3. 2 10 2 (so Conc , but the reading is
khyat, followed by *m-*, hence *n* by sandhi): *duścakṣās te māva l̥śat*
(*khyat, kṣat*) MS KS

sarasvatyā (°*tyām*) *adhi menāv* (with variants) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS *acakṛ*°,
SMB *carkṛdhi*, but Jörgensen *acakṛṣuh*) AV. KS TB ApŚ. MŚ
SMB PG   See §§136, 236

adārasṛd bhavata (AV °*tu*)· *deva soma* AV TB ApŚ *bhavata* is appar-
ently assimilated mechanically to *mṛdatā* of the next pāda, of which
maruto is the subject   Here soma is addressed, and the subject is
adārasṛd, bhavata makes no sense, Caland renders *bhavatu* in ApŚ
Yet *bhavata* is read in both edd of TB , and was clearly the Tait.
school reading   TB comm fatuously makes *bhavata* equivalent
to *bhava.*

ā pitaram vaiśvānaram avase kah (PB *kuh;* comm *kah ≈ kuru*) PB
KŚ, ApŚ. MŚ. Perhaps only a misprint in PB

divodāsāya randhayah (SV °*yan*) RV. SV. Tho Benfey keeps *randhayan*
in his text, he translates 'du ubergabst', as if °*yah*, so the comm.,
samvītavān asi; randhayan is hopeless (perhaps felt as nom sg
pple ?)

svasti caratād iha (SMB *ayam;* MG *caratā diśah*) Kauś SMB. ApMB
HG. MG   Spoken by the *guru* at the *upanayana; caratād* is 3d
person, subject is the boy   In MG *caratā* is only a corruption,
phonetic in character, note the following *d-*, and compare the
extensive section on 'False Divisions' which will appear in our
volume on Phonetics.

INDEXES

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

References are to sections

⁻ INDEX OF WORDS

Note —A complete index of words would manifestly be extremely bulky, and seems to me unnecessary in view of the following Index of Mantras Here are listed a few important or anomalous words and forms, the importance or anomaly of which is not, or not primarily, a function of the variant mantras in which they occur Others can easily be located by locating the mantras containing them References are to sections except when preceded by p = page

⁻

INDEX OF MANTRAS

References are to sections, unless preceded by p = page

agniṣ ṭad viśvam (°vād) ā pṛṇāti (°tu)
vidvān, 116 (p 71)

agniṣ ṭān lokāt pra nudāty (°tv,
nudatv) asmāt, 52, 104 p, 329 (p 224)

agniṣ ṭān asmāt pra nunottu (dhamāti)
lokāt (yajñāt), 52, 104 p, 329 (p 224)

agniṣ ṭe agram nayatām (agnis te
'gram nayatu), 51

agnis tṛpyatu, 238

agnis te tanuvam māti dhāk (te tejo
mā prati dhākṣīt), 262 b

agnihotrenedam (agnir hotre°) havir
ajuṣatāvīvṛdbata (°anta), 372 c

agnī indrā vṛtrahanā huve vām, 345
(p 251)

agnīñ jyotiṣmatah kuruta (kuru), 347

agnī raksānsi sedhati, 341

agnīṣomāv adadhur yā turīyāsīt, 361

agnīṣomau tam apanudatām etc , 357

agne agninā samvadasva, 329 (p 222)

agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva, 329
(p 222), 349 (p 255)

agne cyavasva sam anu prayāhi, 362

agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt, 52,
104 p, 329 (p 224)

agne tejasvin tejasvī tvam deveṣu
bhūyāh, 161

agne dakṣaih punihi nah (punīmahe,
punīhi mā), 30, 116 (p 68), 305

agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva
(ikṣva), 60, 193, 236, 304

agne patho devayānān kṛnudhvam
(pathah kalpaya deva°), 362

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (bhavā)
tvam nah, 261

agne prehi prathamo devayatām
(devā°, devatānām), 243

agne brahma gṛbhnīṣva (gṛhnīṣva,
gṛhīṣva), 192

agne bharantu (°ta) cittibhih, 55, 156

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva
(abhi na ā vavṛtsva, etc), 198

agne medhāvinam kṛnu (kuru), 190

agne jat te tejas tena tam atejasam
kṛnu (tam prati tityagdhi, or tit-
igdhi), 288

agne jukṣvā (yuṅkṣvī) hi je tava, 192

agner anuvratā bhūtvā, 250 (p 165)

agne rucām pate   . dhāh (dhehi),
158

agner jihvām abhi (jihvayābhi, etc)
gṛnītam (gṛnata), 191, 352

agne vājajid   aam mārjmi etc , 312

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma
(°mah), 25, 124

agne vīhi, 329 (p 224)

agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (acār-
ṣam, °tam cariṣyāmi), 206, 228, 234 a,
286, 345 (p 252)

agne   vratapate   vratam   ālapsye
(ālabhe), 234 a

agne sasṛjmahe (samsṛjmahe) girah,
273

agne havyam rakṣasva (rakṣa), 63

agnau kariṣyāmi (°sye, karavāṇi, °vai),
41, 171

agrabhīt (°bhīṣata), 281

agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati (°si),
295, 328

agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam
(bhajase mahad dhanam), 295, 328

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (°si),
295, 328

aghat, aghat tam, aghan, aghasat, °san,
aghastām tam, 104 m, 367

aghāyūnām ud irate (°ti), 40

aṅgā parūṇṣi tava vardhayanti, 250
(p 166)

aṅgirasām tvū   vratenā dadhe
(dadhāmi), 49 a

aṅgebhyo me varcodāh pavasva, 372 a

aṅgebhyo (me varcodau varcase pave-
thām), 372 a

achājam yanti (achūjam eti) śavasā
ghṛtācih (ghṛtena, ghṛtā cit), 361

achāvāk , vadasva (vada), 64

achidrah prajayā bhūyāsam, 161, 345
(p 250)

achidram yajñam bhūrikarmā karotu
(hūriretāh kṛnotu), 190

achidrā uśijah padānu takṣuh, 219

achidrośijah kavayah padānu takṣiṣat
(takṣijuh), 219

ajany agnir hotā (ajann agnih) etc , 85

ajssrena bhānunā dīdyatam (dīdy-
ānam), 49

ajasrena śociṣā śośucānah (śośucac
ohuce), 34 n

ajātaśatruh suhavo na edhi (syonā no
astu), 332 (p 232)

ajītāh (ajītāh, °tā) syāma śaradah
śatam, 284

ajījapata (ajījipata) vanaspatayah, 288

ajīrnā tvam jarayasi (jaraya) sarvam
anyat, 116 (p 71)

ajaih svarvatīr apah, 94, 131, 341

añjasā satyam upa geṣam (upāgām),
127

ata moṣi (invata) karvarā purūni
(karvarāni bhūri), 362

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi, 158

ataś cakṣāthe aditim ditim ca, 116
(p 73)

atānṣma (°ṣṭa) tamasas pāram asya,
309

ati dhanveva tān ihi, 309

atirātram varṣan (vavṛṣān, vavarṣvān)
, 232

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (yūdh-
vam), 62, 236

atra jahīmo 'śivā ye asan, 116 (p 73),
275, 307

atra śravānsi dadhire, 231

atrā jahāma (jahīta, jahīmo) ye asann
aśevāh (aśivāh, asan durevāh, etc),
116 (p 73), 275, 307

atrā te rūpam uttamam apaśyam
(°yan), 315

atrinā tvā krime (atrivad vaḥ krimayo)
hanmi, 246

atha jivrir (jirvir) vidatham ā vadāsi,
363

athā jīvrī vidatham ā vadāsi, 363

athā tvam asi saṃkṛtih, 349 (p 258)

athā devaih sadhamādam madema, 126

athā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta
(°tana), 257

athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva, 210 a

athā mandasva (madasva) jujuṣāno
andhasah, 192

athā yūyam stha samkṛtih, 349 (p 258)

athā rayim sarvavīram dadhātana, 257

athāsmabhyam sam yor arapo dadhāta,
257

athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu, 307

athāsyai (°syā) madhyam edhatām
(edhatu, ejatu, ejati), 79, 116 (p 71)

athemā viśvāh pṛtanā jayāsi (°ti), 329
(p 224)

athaite dhiṣnyāso   kalpantām ih-
aiva, 241

athainam jarimā nayet, 169

athaiṣām bhinnakah kumbhah (atho
bhinadmi tam kumbham), 246

atho tvam asi niṣkṛtih, 349 (p 258)

atho yatheme dhiṣnyāso . kalpay-
antām ihaiva, 241

atho yūyam stha niṣkṛtih, 349 (p 258)

adabdham cakṣur . dīkṣen mā mā
hāsīt etc , 329 (p 225), 332 (p 234)

adabdho gopāḥ (gopah) pari pāhi nas
tvam (pari pātu viśvatah), 332
(p 231)

adarśus tvā śāsahastam, 202

adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhīh,
158

adād idam yamo (adād yamo) 'vasā-
nam prthivyāh, 116 (p 69)

adārasṛd bhavata (°tu) deva soma,
372 c

adāsyann agna uta samgṛnāmi, 177, 231

adītih (°te) keśān (śmaśru, keśaś-
maśru) vapatu (vapa), 329 (p 224)

aditsantam dāpayasi (°tu) prajānan,
112, 116 (p 68)

aditsan vā samjagara jansbhyah, 177,
231, 261

adīkṣiṣṭāyam brāhmanah   , 248

adṛśan tvāvarohantam, 217, 324

adṛśann udahāryah, 252

adṛśann asya ketavah, 252

adṛśann udahāryah, 252

adṛśram asya ketavah, 252

ado gṛnbhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi, 341

ado yad avadhāvati, 341

adrākṣus tvā śāsahastam, 202

adveṣe (°ṣye) dyāvāpṛthivī huvema
(huve), 346

adha pra sū na upa yantu (pra nūnam
upa yanti) dhītayah, 116 (p 71)

adharo mad asau vadāt (vadāsau,
vadā) svāhā, 24, 153, 341, 342

antár evoṣmāṇaṁ vārayadhvāt (°ya-
tāt), 65

antar dadha ṛtubhɪḥ, 247

antar dadhe parvataiḥ, 247

antar mahānś caratɪ (°si) rocanena,
329 (p 224)

antar mṛtyum dadhatām parvatena,
116 (p 69), 318

antarhɪtā girayaḥ, 247

antarhɪtā ma ṛtavaḥ, 247

antaś caratɪ (°si) bhūteṣu, 337 (p 235)

antaś caraty (°sy) arṇave, 341

antas tiṣṭhatu (°to) me mano 'mṛtasya
ketuḥ, 372 a

andhena ɟat (yā) tamasā prāvṛtāsīt
(°sɪ), 229, 337 (p 238)

annapate 'nnasya (annasya) no dehɪ,
130, 329 (p 224)

annam payo reto asmāsu ('smāsu)
dhatta (dhehɪ)ɪ 362

annaɱ me purīṣya pāhi (°syāɟugupah),
130

annam me (no) budhya (°dhnya) pāhi
(°yāɟugupas) tan me (no) etc , 130

annasyānnapatiḥ prādāt, 130, 329 (p
224)

annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe (°dam
agnim annapatyāyādadhe, °dam an-
nādyāyādadhe, °dam annādyāyān-
napatyāyādadhe), 49 a, 120, 312

annādā bhūyāsta (°sma) ye no 'nnādān
akarta (ye ca no 'nnādān kārṣṭa
etc), 145 b, 202, 306

annādāyānnapatɟ āyā dadhaɪ, 49 a, 120,
312

anyad yuṣmākam antaraṁ babhūva
(bhavāti), 140

anyavratasya saścɪma (°ɪre; anyadvra
saścimaḥ), 25, 79, 262c, 324

anɟeṣv aham sumanāḥ sam viśeyam,
104 c, 345 (p 252)

anvātānsīt tvayɪ (°sus tava) tantum
etam, 361

anvādīdhyāthām ɪha naḥ sakhāyā, 250
(p 163)

anv enam viprā ṛṣayo madanti (°tu),
116 (p 71)

apaḥ kṣetrānɪ samɟayan (°ɟa), 250 (p
163)

apah prerayam (prairayat, prairayan)
sagarasya budhnāt, 138, 323

apa cakrā avṛtsata (cakrāni vartaɟa),
238

apa jahɪ parɪgham, 370 (p 278)

apa rakṣānsɪ sedhasi (cātayat), 341

apa śatrūn vidhyatāṁ (°tah) samvi-
dāne, 116 (p 71)

apaśyaṁ (°yāma) yuvatuṁ nīyamānām
(°tim ācarantīm), 345 (p 250)

apaśyam tvāvarohantam, 217, 324

apasedhan (°dham) duritā soma
mṛdaya (no mṛda), 194

apa snehitīr (snīhitim) nṛmaṇā adhatta
(adhadrāh; adadhrām), 252

apah samndrād divam udvahanti (°tu),
116 (p 68)

apahata parɪgham, 370 (p 278)

apahato 'raruh etc , 104 w

apāṁ rasam udayaṅsam (°san), 315

apāṁ sadhɪṣi sīda, 237

apāṁ stoko abhyapaptad rasena (°pap-
tac chivena, °patac chivāɟa), 217

apāṁ gambhan (kṣaye) sīda, 238

apāṁ garbham vy adadhāt (°dhuḥ)
purutrā, 355

apātām aśvinā gharmam, 130, 329
(p 226)

apānudo janam amitrayantam (ami-
trā°), 243

apāne niviśyāmṛtam hutam (nivɪṣṭo
'mṛtam juhomi), 246

apāṁ tvā kṣaye sādaɟ āmi, 238

apāṁ tvā gahman sādayāmi etc , 238

apāṁ tvā sadhiṣi (sadhrɪṣu) sādayāmi,
237

apāṁ tvodman sādayāmi, 238

apāṁ napātam aśvinā huve dhɪyā
(aśvinā hayantam), 3 n , 194

apāṁ napātaṁ pari tasthur (napātam
upa ɟanty) āpaḥ, 231

apāṁ upasthe mahɪṣā avardhan (°ṣo
vavardha), 217, 218, 361

apāṁ oṣadhīnām rasa sthɪ, 370 (p 280)

apāṁ puṣpam asɟ oṣadhīnām rasaḥ
etc , 370 (p 280)

apārarum adevayajanam . . jahi,
104 w, 304

apārarum pṛthivyai . . badhyāsam,
104 w, 304

api jāyeta so 'smākam, 175

api naḥ sa kule bhūyāt, 175

api panthām aganmahi (agasmahi), 202

api pūṣā ni ṣīdatu (°ti), 116 (p 68)

apiśīrṇā u pṛṣṭayaḥ, 246

aped u hāsate tamaḥ, 154

apeyam rātry uchatu, 154

apaitu mṛtyur amṛtam na āgan (āgāt),
104 m

apochatu (°chantu) mithunā yā (ye)
kimīdinā (°naḥ), 361

apo dattodadhim bhinta, 370 (p 277)

apo devā madhumatīr agṛbhnan, 315

apo devīr upasṛja (°jā) madhumatīḥ,
261

apo devīr madhumatīr agṛhnan
(agṛbhnām), 315

apo vṛnānaḥ pavate kavīyan (kavyan),
243

apy abhūr (abhūd) bhadre sukṛtasya
loke, 329 (p.221)

apriye (°yaḥ) prati muñcatam (°tām,
muñca tat), 30, 368

apsarasāv (°sām) anu dattām ṛnaṁ
naḥ (ṛnāni, °dattānṛnāni), 372 b

apsu dhautasya te . . karomi
(kṛnomi), 190

abaddham mano mā mā hāsīh
(°sīt), 329 (p 225), 332 (p 234)

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau
hataḥ (rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhāyā-
mum abadhiṣma), 222, 230, 345
(p 250)

abandhv eke dadataḥ prayachantaḥ
(°chāt), 250 (p 165)

abhi tvā varcasāsiñcan (°sicam,
°sican), 217, 312

abhidrohaṁ manuṣyāś carāmasi
(caranti), 314

abhi no vīro arvati kṣameta, 337 (p
239)

abhi pra nonuvur (nonavur) giraḥ,⁻
23, 218

abhi pra yantu naro agnirūpāh, 116
(p. 68)

abhi prayānsi sudhitāni hi khyaḥ
(khyat), 329 (p. 224)

abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti (°tu), 94,
116 (p 67)

abhiratāh smaḥ (sma ha), 25, 262 c

abhiṛṣmantu bhavantaḥ, 85

abhiramyatām (°thām), 22, 85

abhiśikṣa rājābhuvam (°bhūvam),
262 d

abhi ṣṭana duritā bādhamānaḥ, 193

abhi somam mṛśāmasi, 345 (p. 252)

abhi stṛṇīhi pari dhehi vedim, 347

abhūn mama (nu naḥ) sumatau viś-
vavedāḥ, 133, 323

abhūr gṛṣṭīnām (vaśānām, āpīnām,
etc) abhiśastipā u (°pāvā), 130

abhyarakṣīd (°rākṣīd) āsmākaṁ punar
etc , 277

abhy arṣati (°ta, arṣanti) suṣṭutim etc ,
341, 349 (p 257)

abhyarṣan (abhy arṣa) stotṛbhyo vīr-
avad yaśaḥ, 250 (p 165)

abhy aṣṭhāṁ (asthāṁ, asthād) viśvāḥ
pṛtanā arātīḥ, 320

abhyaṣikṣi rājābhūm (°bhūt, °bhū-
vam), 262 d

abhy enaṁ bhūma ūrṇuhi (bhūmī
vṛnu), 196, 255

amitrān no vi vidhyatām, 371 d

amī anu mā tanuta, 350

amīmadanta pitaro . . . āvṛṣāyiṣata
(°yīṣata, avīvṛṣata), 201, 243, 285

amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati, 341

amī ye vivratā (°tāh, °tās) sthana
(stha), 257

amukthā yakṣmād duritā avadyāt,
87, 329 (p 221)

amū anu mā tanutam, 350

amṛtaṁ ca prāne juhomi, 246

amṛtatvāya ghoṣayaḥ (°yan), 248

amaiṣām cittaṁ prabudhāṁ (°dhā) vi
neśat (naśyatu), 158

amocī yakṣmād duritād avartyai, 87,
329 (p.221)

ayam yajamāno mṛdho vyasyatām
(°tu), 79

aham śatrūn jayāmi jarhṛṣāṇah (jar-
hiṣ°), 116 (p 73), 324

aham astabhnām pṛthivīm uta dyām,
218

aham evedam sarvam hhūyāsam (sar-
vam asāni), 170

ahar-ahar aprayāvam bharantah (°ahar
balim it te harantah), 250 (p 166)

ahar no atyapīparat (ahar māty
apīparah), 300, 338

ahā arātim avidah (avartim avidat)
syonam, 329 (p 221)

ahāny asmai sudinā bhavantı (°tu),
116 (p 68)

ahā yad dyāvo (devā) asunitim ayan
(āyan), 145 d

ahāḥ śarīram (ahāc char°) payasā
sametī (sametya), 202, 250 (p 164)

ahīṅś ca sarvān (°vāñ) jambhayan
(°ya), 250 (p 160)

aheḍatā manasā devān gacha, 160,
337 (p 241)

ahorātrās (°trāni, °tre) te (me) kal-
pantām (kalpetām), 352

ahnām ketur uṣasām ety (eṣy) agram
(agre), 292, 329 (p 221)

ahnā yad enah kṛtam asti kimcit (pā-
pam, enaś cakṛmeha kimcit), 249

āganta pitarah bhūyāsam (bhū-
yāsma), 345 (p 252)

āganta pitaro manojavāḥ, 337 (p 239)

ā gāvo dhenavo vāśyamānāḥ, 250
(p 162)

ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi (°dīt,
agnir amṛto na sādi), 81 n , 84, 267

āṅkṣva tatāsau (āṅkṣvāsāv āūksvāsau),
191

āchettā te (vo) mā riṣam (riṣat,
mārṣam), 286, 318

ājim tvāgne . sammārṣṭi (°mārjmi),
312

ā juhotā (°ta) duvasyata, 261

ājyam uktham avyathāyai (°thayat,
°thāya) stabhnātu (°notu), 191

āñjasvānulimpasva, 191

ātapate svāhā, 195

ātiṣṭhemam aśmānam, 368

ā te vācam āsyā (āsyām) dade, 325

ātmasado me stha (°sadau me stam),
357

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu,
210 a, 365

ā tvā śiśur ākrandatu, 116 (p 73)

ā tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuḥ, 323

ā tvāhārṣam antar abhūh (edhi), 130

ā dadhnah kalaśair (°śir, °śam) aguh
(ayan, gaman, upa, ayann iva, aira-
yam), 131

ād it pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate, 84, 231

ādityah paśur āsīt tenāyajanta (°jata)
. 359

ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅgdhi
(añjan), 250 (p 167)

āditya nāvam ūrukṣah (āruham, ārok-
ṣam), 133, 205, 306

ādityānām tvā devānām vratēna
dadhe (°dhāmi), 49 a

ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣanta (°tām),
156

ādityās tad aṅgirasaś cinvantu, 152

ādityās tvā kṛnvantu (kurvantu) etc ,
190

ādityair indrah saha cīkipāti (sīṣa-
dhātu, °ti), 173

ādityair no aditih śarma yaṅsat (ya-
chatu), 91, 106, 154

ād id antā adadṛhanta pūrve, 280

ād id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate
(°vīm vy ūduh), 84, 231

ā devo yātu (yāti) savitā suratnah,
116 (p 67)

ā dhenavah sāyam āsyandamānāḥ, 250
(p 162)

ā no yātam (yāhy) upaśruti, 368

ā ni viśvā āskrā (viśve askrā) gamantu
(°ta) devāh, 156

ānyāvākṣīd (ānyā vakṣad) vasu vāry-
āni, 131

āpaprivān (āpapṛvān) rodasī antarik-
ṣam, 281, 287

āpas tvā sam arinan (arinvan; āpah
sam arinan), 191

āpāma manasā, 246

ā pitaram vaiśvānaram avase kah
(kuh), 372 c

āśūn ıva (huve) suyamān ahva ūtaye
  (suº ūtº), 2, 229

āṣṭa (āṣṭhāh) pratıṣṭhām avıdad dhı
  (avıdo hı, avıdo [ºde,ºdan,] nu)
  gādham, 337 (p 238)

āsādyāsmın harhıṣı mādayadhvam
  (ºyasva, ºyethām), 367

āsannā udabhır yathā, 17

āsann ā (āsan nah) pātram janayanta
  (ºtu) devāh, 8, 136

ā sīdatu (ºātı) kalaśam deva ınduḥ
  (devayur nah), 152

ā sīdatu (ºantu) barhıṣı mıtro (mıº
  varuno) aryamā, 296, 355

āsu goṣūpa pṛcyatām, 85

āsthāpayata mātaram jıgatnum, 76,
  116 (p 72), 362

āsmāsu nṛmnam dhāt, 329 (p 225)

ā syandantām dhenavo nıtyavatsāh,
  250 (p 162)

ā sve yonau nı sīdatu (ºta), 355

āhatam (āhantı) gabhe pasah (ºtam
  paso nıcalcalītı), 246

idā (ıdāh, ıdās) stha   349 (p 258)

ıto mukṣīya māmutah (mā pateh), 30,
  104 a, 312

ıty adadāh (ºdāt), 329 (p 223)

ıty apacah (ºcathāh), 53

ıty amum samgrāmam sban (ajayat,
  ajayathāh), 79, 329 (p 223)

ıty ayajathāh (ºjata), 329 (p 223)

ıty ayudhyathāh (ºyata), 329 (p 223)

idam vatsyāmo hhoh (vatsyāvah),
  344, 367

idam varco (ādho) agnınā dattam
  āgāt (āgan), 130

idam vātena sagarena rakṣa (rakṣatu),
  329 (p 223)

idam vām tena prīnāmı, 119, 325

idam śreyo 'vasānam yad āgām (ºnam
  āganma devāh), 346

idam no havır abhı gṛnantu vıśve, 337
  (p 236)

idam asmākam bhujs hhogāya bhūyāt
  (ºyāsam), 312

idam aham rakṣo 'va hādhe, 222, 230,
  345 (p 250)

idam aham tam nirmṛnāmı etc , 121

idam aham amum (amuṣyā—)   .
  prakṣıṇāmı (ºnomı), 191

idam aham mām kalyānyaı   nayānı
  (ºmı, dadāmı), 118

idam uc chreyo 'vasānam āgām, 346

idam pıtṛbhyah pra hharāmı (ºrema)
  barhıh, 121, 345 (p 249)

idam brahma punīmahe, 30, 116 (p 68),
  302, 332 (p 234)

idam me karmedam (ms 'yam) vīryam
  putro 'nusamtanotu (ºtanavat), 152

idam me prāvatā vacaḥ, 261

ındra enaṁ (enam) parāśarīt, 278

ındrah karmasu no 'vatu, 354

ındram sa ṛchatu yo   . 'bhıdāsatı, 124

ındram sa dıśām   ṛchatu yo   .
  'bhıdāsatı, 124

ındram samatsu bhūṣata, 300, 365

ındra karmasu no 'vata, 354

ındraghoṣas (ºṣās) tvā vasubhıḥ (vasa-
  vah) purastāt pātu (pāntu), 349
  (p 256)

ındram karmasv avatu (āvatam, ºta),
  354

ındra tvad yantu (ºtı) rātayaḥ, 116
  (p 68)

indravanta (ºtah) stuta (studhvam), 75

ındravantā (ºto, ºtau) havır idam
  juṣethām (juṣantām), 371 c

ındravanto vanemahi (vanāmahs), 121

ındra vājam jaya, 130, 329 (p 225)

ındra ṣodaśınn   deveṣv asi, 116
  (p 69)

ındra somam ımam pıha (somam pıhā
  ımam), 261

ındras te soma sutasya peyāh (ºyāt),
  262 a

indrasya tvā jaṭhare sādayāmı (da-
  dhāmı), 231, 315

indrasya tvā marutvato (tvendrıyeṇa
  vratapate) vratenā dadhs (ºdhāmı),
  49 a

ındrasya bhāga stha (hhāgo 'sı), 370
  (p 277)

indrasya manmahe śaśvad ıd asya
  manmahe, 346

indrasya manve prathamasya prace-
  tasah, 346

iṣṭāpūrtaṁ sma kṛṇutāvir (°taṁ kṛṇu-
tād āvir) asmai, 152, 254
iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir (°vathāvir,
kṛnutād āvir) asmai (asmāt), 152,
254, 262 e
iha kṛṇmo harivo medinaṁ tvā, 190
iha pūṣā ni ṣīdatu, 116 (p 68)
iha rama (ramaḥ, ramasva, ramatām),
79, 329, (p 222)
iha sūrya ud etu te, 116 (p 72)
iha sphātiṁ sam ā vahān (vaha), 153,
371 d
ihi tisraḥ parāvataḥ, 329 (p 221)
ihi tisro 'ti rocanāḥ, 329 (p 221)
ihi pañca janān ati, 329 (p 221)
ihehaiṣāṁ kṛṇuhi (kṛṇuta) bhojanāni,
362
ihaiva kṣṇmya edhi mā prahāsīr (°sīn)
etc , 342
ihaiva rātayaḥ santu (santi etc), 116
(p 72)
ihaiva stam mā vi yauṣṭam (yoṣṭam),
277
iyānaḥ kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ, 198
īśānam tvā śuśrumo (°mā) vayam, 262 c
ukthaṁ vācīndrāya (uktham avācī°)
267
ukthair havāmahe paramāt sadhas-
thāt, 2, 4 n , 78, 121
ukthyaṁ vācīndrāya śṛṇvate tvā, 267
ukhāṁ sravantīṁ agadāṁ akarma
(aganma), 312
ukhām kṛṇotu (karotu) śaktyā, 190
ugraṁ vaco apāvadhīt (°dhīḥ, °dhīm),
302
ugraṁ sahodām iha tam huvema
(huve), 345 (p 250)
ugraṁ huvema paramāt sadhasthāt,
2, 4 n , 78, 121
ugraṁ cettāram adhirājam akran
(akrata), 41
uc chukrena śociṣā dyām inakṣan
(°kṣat), 250 (p 164)
uc chvañcasva (chma°) pṛthivi mā
ni bādhathāḥ (vi bādhithāḥ), 210 c
uta gīva ivādanti (°dan), 229
uta trātā śivo bhavā (bhuvo) varū-
thyaḥ, 23, 107, 154

uta tvā gopā adṛśan, 252
uta prahām atidīvyā yayāti (atidīvā
yayati), 117
utāditsantam dāpayatu prajānan, 112,
116 (p 68)
utem anamnamuh (uteva namnamuh),
267
utainam gopā adṛśan (adṛśran), 252
utkraṁsyate (utkramiṣyate, utkrām-
yate) svāhā, 287
uttamam nākam (°me nāke) adhi
rohayemam (°yainam, rohemam),
238, 241
uttame nāka iha mādayantām (°yadh-
vam), 160, 241, 303, 329 (p 222)
uttiṣṭhans tretā bhavati, 232
ut tiṣṭhata (°tā) pra taratā sakhāyaḥ,
261 ‸
ut tiṣṭha (utthāya) bṛhatī (bṛhan)
bhava, 250 (p 167)
ut te stabhnāmi (tabhnomi)pṛthivīm
tvat pari, 191
utthitas tretā bhavati, 232
ut sūryo diva eti, 116 (p 72)
ut sṛjata (sṛja) gām, 329 (p 228), 347
ud akramīd draviṇodā vājy arvā
(ud akrāmīt, Pratīla), 277
ud asāv etu sūryaḥ (asau sūryo agāt),
130
ud asthām amṛtān anu, 345 (p 250)
ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam (abhūma), 345
(p 250)
udāne niviśyamṛtam hutam, 246
udāne niviṣṭo 'mṛtam juhomi, 246
ud id vapatu (°ti, it kṛṣati) gām avim,
116 (p 71)
ud īrayathā (°tā, °ta) marutaḥ samud-
rataḥ, 18, 261
udgrābhenod agrabhīt (ajigrabhat,
ajīgrabham, ajīgṛbham), 201, 271,
281, 312
ud dharṣantām maghavan vājināni, 30,
241, 365
ud dharṣaya maghavann (satvanām)
āyudhāni, 30, 241, 365
udno dattodadhim bhintta (dehy
udadhīṁ bhindhi), 370 (p 277)

ṛtunā somam pihatam (°tām, °tu),
    329 (p 228), 363
ṛtuhhih prahhuh (prāhhavat), 248
ṛtūnr (ṛtūn) anyo vidadhaj jāyate
    punah (jāyase navah), 337 (p 239)
ṛtenāsya nivartaye (°ya), 66, 116
    (p 70), 304
ṛdhag ayā (ayād) ṛdhag utāśamiṣṭhāh
    (°ṣṭa), 337 (p 241)
ṛṣahhā janayanti (°tu) ca (nah, nau),
    123
ṛṣayah (sc tṛpyantu), 238
ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā   prathantu,
    33
ṛṣir hotā ny asīdat (ni ṣasādā) pitā nah,
    218
(om) ṛṣīṅs tarpayāmi, 238
ekapadī dvipadī   prathatām svāhā,
    361
ekapadīm dvipadīm .. prathantām,
    361
ekapādam dvipādam   prathantām,
    361
ekaśapham asṛjyata (°śaphāh paśavo
    'sṛiyanta), 349 (p 255)
ekā satī bahudhoṣo vy uchasi (ucha),
    116 (p 67)
etam yuvānam patim (pari) vo dadāmi,
    345 (p 251)
ètam vo yuvānam prati dadhmo atra,
    345 (p 251)
etam jānātha (jānītāt, °ta) parame
    vyoman, 14, 104 s, 254, 275
etad brahmann upavalhāmasi (apa°,
    upabalihāmahe) tvā, 79
etad vām tena prīnāti (°ni), 119, 325
eta pitaro manojavāh, 337 (p 239)
etam aśmānam ātiṣṭhatam, 368
etasya vittāt, 68
etā asadan sukṛtasya loke, 369
etām sthūnām pitaro dhārayantu (°tī)
    te, 116 (p 69)
ètān ghnataitān gṛhnīta (hataitān
    badhnīta), 193
etāv asadatām, 369
etu tisrah parāvatah, 329 (p 221)
etu tisro 'ti rocanā, 329 (p 221)
etu pañca janāṅ ati, 329 (p 221)

ete nānuvaṣaṭkṛtāh, 144
edam barhir ni ṣīdata (ṣīda nah), 370
    (p 277)
edhantām jñātayo mama (edhante
    asyā jñātayah), 116 (p 67)
edhasva   (edhāsam)   yamarājasu
    (°rājye), 152
edho 'sy edhiṣīmahi (°ṣīya), 346
ena enasyo 'karam (°rat), 315, 345
    (p 251)
enaś (enāṅsi) cakṛmā vayam, 345 (p
    251)
enām śiśuh krandaty ā kumārah, 116
    (p 73)
emam panthām arukṣāma, 345 (p 249)
emūm anu sarpata, 25, 116 (p 72), 364
evam garhham dadhāmi te 'sau (te,
    dadhātu te), 116 (p 72), 302
evam tam garbham ā dhehi, 30, 302
evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva, 30, 302
evam aham āyuṣā   samindhe (sam-
    edhiṣīya), 121, 238
evam mām āyuṣā   samedhaya, 121,
    238
evā tvam asmat pra muñcā vy aṅhah,
    362   \
evā dadhāmi te garbham, 302
evo ṣv asman muñcatā vy aṅhah, 362
eṣa ma ādityaputras tan me gopāyasva,
    see tan me gop°
esā vas sā satyā   samadadhvam, 370
    (p 278)
eṣu vānaspatyeṣu ye 'dhi tasthuh, 231
eṣu vṛkṣeṣu vānaspatyeṣv āsate, 231
ehy aśmānam ā tiṣṭha, 368
aido me bhagavo 'janiṣṭha maitrā-
    varunah (aidā me bhagavanto 'jan-
    īdhvam maitrāvarunāh), 349 (p 257)
aindra udāno aṅge-aṅge nidhītah
    (nidīdhe), 248
aindrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nidīdhyat (ni
    dedhyat, nidhītah), 236, 248
aindro 'pāno (vyāno) aṅge-aṅge vib-
    obhuvat (nibo°, nidīdhyat), 248
om svadhocyatām, 248
o cit sakhāyam sakhvā vavṛtyām, 323
ojaśvantam mām   kuru (kṛnuhi),
    186, 190, 255

garbham sravantam agadam (°tīm
  agadām) akah (akarma), 312
gárhham dadhāthām te vām aham
  dade, 49 a
garbhān prīnīhi (prīnāmi), 304
gām copasṛṣṭām vihāram cāntarena
  mā samcāriṣṭa, 329 (p 224)
gātum vittvā gātum ihī, 370 (p 279)
gātrānām te gātrahhājo bhūyāsma
  (°bhāg bhūyāsam), 345 (p 250)
gāyatrena chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi
  krame, 230, 313
gārhapatya un no neṣat (°tyā un
  ninetu), 154
gāvo hhago gāva indro me achān
  (achāt, mn ichāt), 206
gāvau te sāmanāv itah (aitām), 229
gṛdhrah suparnah kunapam ni ṣevati
  (ṣevase), 79, 332 (p 232)
gṛhāñ (°hān) gopāyataṅ (jugupataṅ,
  ajūgu°) yuvam, 267, 271
gṛhān āgām (aimi, emi) manasā mod-
  amānah (etc), 230
gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (vepi-
  dhvam), 182, 211, 258
gṛhā māsmad bibhītana, 258
gopā me stani (nah stha rakṣitārah),
  357
gopāyañś ca tvā jāgṛviś ca rakṣatām,
  42
gopāyata (°tam, gopāya) mā, 357, 367
gopāyamānam (°naś) ca mc rakṣa-
  mānam (°naś) ca gopāyetūm
  (°yatām), 42
goptryo mc stha, 357
grāhham gṛbhnīta (°nāti) sānasim, 43,
  121
grūmam sajānayo gachanti (grūmān
  sajūtayo yanti), 116 (p 73)
grāvāvādīd (grāvā vaded) abhi som-
  asyānśum (°śunā), 133
ghancna hanmi vṛścikam, 246
gharmam śocantah (°ta, °tam) prava-
  neṣu (pranaveṣu) hibhratah, 250
  (p 165)
gharmam śrīnantu prathamāya dhūsy-
  ave (°ti prathamasya dhāsch), 116
  (p 68)

gharmam apātam aśvinā   . 130, 329
  (p 226)
gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (°tā,
  °trā) vāṭ (veṭ, vaṭ), 261
gharmas triśug vi rājate (rocate),
  116 (p 72)
gharmasyaikā savitaīkām ni yachati
  (°te, °tu), 61, 116 (p 67)
ghasat, °san, °santu, ghastu, 104 m
ghṛtam duhata (duhrata) āśiram, 252
ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (harito
  vahantu), 116 (p 69)
ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu, 116
  (p 69)
ghṛtam mimikṣe (°kṣire) ghṛtam asya
  yonih, 315
ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat pavante
  (°tām), 116 (p 69)
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛnethām
  (pṛna, pṛipāthām svāhā, °pṛthivī
  pūryethām), 85, 87, 300, 363
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām
  (°tām, prornvāthūm), 21, 329 (p
  223)
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī vyundan (vy
  undhi), 84
ghṛtena sītā madhunā samaktā (sama-
  jyatām), 144
ghoṣenāmīvānś cātayata (°vāñ cāta-
  yadhvam), 79
ghnatā (ghnanto) vṛtrāny aprati, 250
  (p 163)
cakṣur asya mā hinsīh, 304
cakṣur me tarpayata (°ya), 370 (p 277)
cakṣur yajñena kalpatām (°tc), 116
  (p 67)
cakṣuṣā ni cikīṣate (°ti), 79
cakṣuṣpūś cakṣur mc pāhi (pātu), 337
  (p 237)
cakṣus te mā hinsiṣam, 304
catuṣṭomo abhavad (°mam adadhād)
  yā turīyā, 361
catuṣpadīm anv cmi (aitad) vratcna,
  229, 313
catustriṅśat tantavo ye vī tatnire, 231
canīkhudad yathāsapam, 230, 239
candramā nikeatrair anu tvāvīt (tvā-
  vatu), 127

tam vah suprītam subhṛtam akarma
(abhārṣam), 130, 304, 346

tam vai manyet pitaram mātaram ca,
36, 79

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (havā-
mahe, johavīmi), 2, 3, 78 121, 236,
345 (p 251)

tam suprītam subhṛtam bibhṛta, 130,
304

tam sma jānīta (°tha) parame vyo-
man, 14, 104 s

tam gopāya (°yasva), 42

tataś cakṣāthām (cakrāthe) aditim
ditim ca, 116 (p 73)

tato dadāti (°tu) dāśuṣe vasūni, 116
(p 70)

tato no abhayam kṛdhi (kuru), 100,
210 a

tato no mitrāvaruṇāv avīṣṭam, 285

tato no (mā) vṛṣṭyāvata (°yāva), 370
(p 278)

tato mā draviṇam aṣṭu (āṣṭa), 39, 130

tato me bhadram abhūt, 130

tato yakṣmam vi bādhadhve (bādhase),
370 (p 278)

tat tvam ārohāso medhyo bhava, 250
(p 166)

tat punīdhvam yavā mama, 79, 152

tat puruṣāya (°ṣasya) vidmahe, 68

tatra cakrāthe aditim ditim ca, 116
(p 73)

tatra pūṣābhavat (°bhuvat) sacā, 23,
217

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu samhharaitam
(°retām, °hhavatām), 55, 330, 351

tatra śravāṁsi kṛnvate, 231

tatra havyāni gāmaya (gamaya), 242

tatremam yajñam yajamānam ca dhehi
(dhatta), 370 (p 278)

tat satyam yad vīram hihhṛthah
(°tah), 21, 337 (p 236)

tat striyām anu sicyate (siñcatu), 85

tad agnir agnaye dadāt (dadat), 193,
266

tad `agnir devo devebhyo vanate
(vanutām), 116 (p 70), 154, 191

tad adya vācah prathamam masīya
(mansīya), 279

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam, 347

tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana, 257

tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām
(asthām), 133

tad aham nihnave (nihnuve) tubhyam,
23

tad ā roha puruṣa medhyo bhavan, 250
(p 166)

tad ud vapati gām avim, 116 (p 71)

tad gopāyadhvam (°yata), 42

tad vidac charyanāvati, 217

tantum tanvan (tatam) rajaso hhānum
anv ihi, 86

tam te duścakṣā māva khyat, 372 c

tam tvā girah suṣṭutayo vājayanti, 250
(p 163)

tam tvā juṣāmahe (juṣe) etc , 346

tam tvā parameṣṭhin   dadhātu
(dadhāmi), 324

tam tvā pra padye, tam tvā pra viśāmi
etc , 118

tam tvā bhaga sarva ij johavīmi (°ti),
291, 314

tam tvābhih suṣṭutibhir vājayantah,
250 (p 163)

tam tvendragraha prapadye (pravi-
śāni) etc , 118

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah,
124, 196

tan nah parṣad (pariṣad) ati dviṣah, 286

tan me gopāya (°yasva), 42

tan me 'rādhi (rāddham), 28, 85, 144,
248

tan me rādhyatām (samṛdhyatām,
samṛddham), 144

tapate svāhā, 195

tapasā ye svar yayuh (suvar gatāh),
248

tapāno deva rakṣasah, 232

tapto vām gharmo nakṣati (°tu)
svahotā, 173

tapyate svāhā, 195

tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam, 347

tam ahve vājasātaye, 23, 229

tam ātman (ātmani) pari gṛhnīmahe
vayam (gṛhnīmasīha), 43

tam ā pṛna (pṛnā) vasupate vasūnām,
261

tāni te parıdadmasi, 345 (p 252)

tāni no 'vantu, 369

tā no mṛdāta (mṛḷ°) Idṛśe, 152, 367

tām te parıdadūmy aham (°dadūmi), 345 (p 252)

tām te vācam āsya ādatte (ādadc)   , 325

tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta, 223, 229

tām dhīrāso anudṛśya (°diśya) yajante (anudṛśyāyajanta kavayah), 223, 229

tām nah pūṣañ   , see tām pūṣañ

tān rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan, 361

tān sma mānuvaṣaṭkṛthāh, 144

tāhhir ā vartayā punah, 304

tābhir vahamam sukṛtām u lokam (vahemam sukṛtām yatra lokāh), 152

tābhih samrahdham anv avindan (samrahdho avidat) ṣad urvīh, 217, 361

tābhya enā ni vartaya, 304

tābhyas tvā vartayāmasi, 304

tābhyām (tā° vayam) patema sukṛtām u lokam (pathyāsma sukṛtasya lokam), 175

tām adya gātham gāsyāmi (°mah), 345 (p 250)

tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante, 223, 229

tām (tām nah) pūṣañ (°ṣañ) chivatamām erayasva, 40

tāv imam paśum śrapayatām pravidvāñsau, 293, 332 (p 231)

tāv imā upa sarpatah, 25, 116 (p 72), 364

tāsām svasṛr (svasūr, svar) ajanayat (ajanan) pañca-pañca, 241, 359

tās tvā (tvā devīr, tvā devyo) jarase (°sā) sam vyayantu (°yasva), 70, 339, 365

tāh (tā) sam dadhūmi (°ātu, tanomi) haviṣā (manasā) ghṛtena, 116 (p 73), 312

tıgmāyudhāɔa bharatā śṛnotu nah (śṛnotana), 256, 258, 365

tırah purū cid arnaᴠam jaganvān (°vān jagamyāh), 250 (p 164)

tıraś cıttāni (cittā) vasaᴠo jıghānsati, 124

tırah satyāni maruto jighānsūt, 124

tıro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt (santam mā pra hāsīh), 338

tıro mṛtyum dadhatām (dadhmahe) parvatena, 116 (p 69), 318

tıro me yajña āyuı mā prahāsīh (°sīt), 338

tıṣṭhantam ava gūhatı (°sı), 329 (p 224)

tıṣṭhantı svāruho ɔathā, 116 (p 71)

tıṣṭhantı hatavartmanah (°tu hatavarcasah), 116 (p 67)

tıṣṭhann āsīno yadı vā svapann ɔapı, 250 (p 165)

tıṣṭhann evāva gūhası, 329 (p 224)

tısṛbhir gharmo vıbhātı, 116 (p 72)

tıstıre barhır ānuṣak, 85

tısro devīr barhır edam sadantu (°tām), 73

. tısro ha prajā atyāyam āyan (ıyuh), 218

turaś cıd vıśvam arnavat tapasvān, 137

turīyenāmanvata (°na manvata) nāma dhenoh, 267

tṛnam vssānā (°nāh) sumanā asas (ası) tvam, 117

tṛta enam (enan) manuṣyeṣu mamṛje, 271

tṛtīye nāke adhi vi śrayasva (śrayamam), 30

tṛpat (tṛmpat) somam apıbad vıṣnunā sutam yathāvaśat (°śam), 230

tṛptā mā tarpayata (mām tarpayantu), 341

te arṣantu te varṣantu etc , 116 (p 71), 239

te dakṣınām duhate saptamātaram, 252

te duhrate dakṣınām saptamātaram, 252

te devāso (devā) yajñam imam juṣadhvam (juṣantām), 341

te devāso havır ıdam juṣadhvam, 341

te na ātmaṣu jāgratı (jāgṛta), 116 (p 72), 329 (p 221)

tena ṛṣınā, see tenarṣınā

tena krīdantīś (krīl°) carata (°ɪba) prıyena (vaśān anu), 16

nı ṣṭanıhí durıtā bādhamānaḥ, 193

nıhāram nı harāmı (°nı) te, 119

nıhāram nıharāsı (ca ha°) me, 152

nıhāram ın nı me hara (harā), 152

nı hotāram viśvavıdam dadhıdhve (gṛhapatım dadhıdhvam), 139

nīcaıh khananty asurāh, 229

nīlalohıtam bhavatı (°te bhavataḥ), 351

nu vām jıhvā ghṛtam ā caranyat, 104 x

nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (kśeṣam, tvā nṛcakṣāh pratīkṣc), 121

nṛmnā punāno (vasāno) arṣatı (°sı), 329 (p 226)

nṝnh (nṝnṣ) pāhı śṛnudhī (°uhī) gırah, 255

nedīya ıt sṛnyah (°yā) pakvam eyāt (āyat), 174

nemıś cakram ivābhavat (°bhuvat), 23, 217

no asmın ramate jane (ramase pataụ) 329 (p 223)

nyañ̃ uttānām anv etı (eṣı) bhūmım, 341

ny anyā arkam abhıto vıvıśre ('vıśanta, vıvıśyuh), 69, 104 k, 218

ny aham tam mṛdyāsam etc , 121

paktaudanasya sukṛtām etu lokam, 365

pañca padānı rupo anv aroham, 313

pañcabhır dhātā vı dadhāv (dadhā) ıdam yat, 49 a

patım ekādaśam kṛdhı (kuru), 210 a

patım me kevalam kuru (kṛdhı), 184, 210 a

patnī yīyapsyate (°psyamānā) jarıtah, 248

patyur anuvratā bhūtvā, 250 (p 165)

patyur janıtvam abhı sam babhūtha (°va), 262 f, 332 (p 231)

patha (patho) ānaktı (anaktı, °tu) madhvā ghṛtena, 116 (p 70)

payasvatīh kṛnuthāpa (°tāpa) oṣadhīh śıvāh, 18

payasvān (°vān) agna āgamam (ā gahı), 130, 306

payo dıvy antarıkṣe payo dhāh (dhūm), 304

payo me dāh (dhehı), 158

paramena paśunā krīyase (°yasva) etc , 85, 116 (p 71), 250 (p 164)

parācīnā mukhā kṛdhı (kuru), 210 a

parāvata ā jag_anthā (jagamyāt, jagāmā) parasyāh, 142, 337 (p 237)

parā śulkāya deyām (dīyase), 83

parāsutṛpah śośucatah śṛṇıhı (°tṛpo abhı śośucānah), 31, 250 (p 167)

parı ghransam omanā vām vayo gāt, 318

parıghransa vām manā vām vayo gām, 318

parı ca vakṣı śam ca vakṣı, 79, 164

parı nah pātu (pāhı) vıśvataḥ, 116 (p 72), 302

parı no rudrasya hetır vṛnaktu, 104 u

parı no hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (°yāt), 104 u, 262 a

parı tvā pāmı sarvatah, 116 (p 72), 302

parı tvā rudrasya hetır vṛnaktu, 104 u

parı dyāvāpṛthıvī sadya āyam (ıtvā), 250 (p 163)

parıdhāsyaı yaśodhāsyaı (°dhāsye yaśo dhāsye), 134, 177

parı no rudrasya hetır vṛnaktu, 104 u

parı mā pāhı vıśvataḥ, 116 (p 72), 302

parıvatsarīnām (°sarīyām) svastım āśāste (°se), 317

parı vo rudrasya hetır vṛnaktu, 104 u

parı vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (vṛūjyāt), 104 u, 210 d, 262 a

parı ṣya suvāno akṣāh, 217

parı ṣvajante (°ta) janayo yathā patım, 120

parı ṣvajāte (°taı) lıbujeva vṛkṣam, 253

parıstṛnīta parıdhattāgnım, 347

parı stṛnīhı parı dhehı vedım, 347

parı sya svīno akṣarat, 217

parīdam vājy ajınam (°dam vājınam) dadhe 'ham (dhatsvāsaụ), 116 (p 72), 308

parīdam vāso adhıthāh (°dhāh, adhı dhā) svastaye, 49 a, 134

paretana (pareta) pıtarah somyāsah (°yāh), 256, 257, 337 (p 239)

paraıtu mṛtyur amṛtam na aıtu (amṛtam ma ā gāt), 104 m

punar ātman dadhātu me, 356

punar ūrjā ni vartasva (ūrjā vavṛtsva), 198

punar dattāv (°tām, dātām) asum adyeha bhadram, 198

punar no naṣṭam ākṛdhi (ājatu), 341

punar ma ātmā punar āyur āgāt (aitu), 158

punar manah punar āyur (ātmā) ma (nā) āgāt (āgan), 158

punar māviśatād (°tūm) rayih, 254

punar me jaṭhare dhattām, 356

punaś cakṣuh punah śrotram ma āgan (āgāt, punar asur na aitu), 158

punas te prāna āyati (āyāti, °tu), 152, 262 e

punāti (°tu) te parisrutam, 116 (p 68)

punāno vācam iṣyati (°si), 329 (p 226)

punāno vāram pary ety (vāram aty eṣy) avyayam, 334

punāhīndrāya (punīh°) pātave, 275

punīdhvam ca yavā mama, 79, 152

pumāṅsam jātam abhi sam rabhante (°tām), 116 (p 68)

purā gṛdhrād araruṣah pibātah (°thah), 20, 337 (p 237)

purutrā te manutām (vanvatām) viṣṭhitam jagat, 359

puru tvā dāśvān (dāśivān) voce, 287

puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya, 68

purūvasur hi maghavan sanād asi (°van babhūvitha), 231

puṣyema (°yanto) rayim dhīmahe ta (tam) indra, 250 (p 167)

pūruṣu priyam kuru, 130, 302

pūrnām vivaṣṭy (°ṣṭv) āsicam, 116 (p 68)

pūrvo ha (hi) jātah (jajñe) sa u garbhe antah, 248

pūṣā jātivin (jñātimān) adāt (karotu), 130

pūṣā nā ādhāt (mā dhāt, mādhāt) sukṛtasya loke, 132

pṛchāmi (°mas) tvā param antam pṛthivyāh, 345 (p 250)

pṛchāmi (°mo) yatra (tvā, viśvasya) bhuvanasya nābhih (°im), 345 (p 250)

pṛchāmi (°mas, °mi tvā) vṛṣno aśvasya retah, 345 (p 250)

pṛchāmi (°mo) vācah paramam vyoma, 345 (p 250)

pṛthivi mātar mā mā hinsīh , 329 (p 226)

pṛthivīm viṣnur vyakransta , 230, 313

(pṛthivīm tṛtīyam manuṣyān yajño 'gāt) tato mā dravinam āṣṭa, 39, 130

pṛthivīm dṛnha, 33

pṛthivīm uparena dṛnha, 128, 130

pṛthivīm uparenādṛnhīh (°hīt), 128, 130, 329 (p 222)

(pṛthivīm pitṝn [manuṣyāns tṛtīyam] yajño 'gāt) tato mā dravinam aṣṭu, 39, 130

pṛthivyām viṣnur vyakraṅsta etc , 230, 313

pṛthivyām agnaye samanaman sa ārdhnot, 359

pṛthivyām avacuścotaitat, 219

pṛthivyā (°yās tvā) mūrdhan sīda (sādayāmi) yajñiye loke, 238

pṛṣṭīr api śrnimasi, 246

pṛṣṭīr vo 'pi śṛnātu yātudhānāh, 371 b

pṛṣṭham yajñena kalpatām (°te), 116 (p 67)

pṛṣṭheṣv erayā (airayad) rayim, 136, 335

praugam uktham stabhnātu (°notu), 191

prakṛtebhyah svadhocyatām, 248

pragāyāmasy agratah (°yāmy asyāgratah), 345 (p 250)

pra candramās tirate (°ti, °mas tirase) dīrgham āyuh, 47, 292, 329 (p 221)

pra ca havyāni vakṣyasi, 171, 329 (p 222)

pracetayann arṣati vācam emām, 328

pracetā vo (°tās tvā) rudraih paścād upa dadhatām (pāścāt pātu), 349 (p 257)

pracodayann arṣasi vācam emām, 328

prajanad indram indriyāya svāhā, 273

prajāh kṛnvan janayan virūpāh, 190

prajāh piparti bahudhā (pupoṣa purudhā) vi rājati, 227, 231

praśāstah pra suhi (sūhɪ, suva, suva
pra suhɪ), 193, 284

pra śmaśru dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt
(śmaśrubhɪr do° ūrdhvadhū bhuvat),
167

pra sakṣatɪ pratɪmānam pṛthɪvyūḥ, 79,
277

pra sa mṛtyum yuyotana, 330, 349 (p
257)

pra sākṣate pratɪmānūnɪ bhūrɪ, 79, 277

pra sumartyam (su mṛtyum) yuyotana,
330, 349 (p 257)

pra stomā yanty (°tv) agnaye, 116
(p 67)

prasnāpayanta ūrmayah (°ty ūrmɪ-
nam), 79, 229

pra smā mɪnāty ajarah, 191

prākto apñeīm anayam tad enām, 315

prācīnam sīdat (°āt) pradɪśā pṛthɪvyūḥ,
7, 167

prācīm avūcīm ava yann arɪṣṭyaɪ, 315

prācīś cojjagāhɪre, 262], 272

prāñco agāma (prāñjo 'gāmā) nṛtaye
hasāya, 261

prāṇam me tarpayata (tṛmpa), 241, 370
(p 277)

prānasya brahmacāry asɪ (asmɪ, abhūr
asau), 230, 308

prānāpānābhyām me varcodasau pave-
thūm, 368

prānāpānau me tarpaya (°yata), 370
(p 277)

prānāya me varcodā varcase pavasva,
368

prānena vācā manasā bɪbharmɪ (°tɪ),
325

prāṇe nɪvɪṣṭo 'mṛtam (nɪvɪśyāmṛtam)
juhomɪ, 246

prāno yajñena kalpatām (°te), 116 (p
67)

prātarjɪtam bhagam ugram huvema
(havāmahe), 2, 78, 121

prātah somam uta rudram huvema
(havāmahe), 2, 78, 121

prātāry agne pratarām na āyuḥ, 132

prādāḥ (°dāt) pɪtṛbhyah svadhayā te
akṣan, 337 (p 237)

prānyā tantūns tɪrate dhatte anyā,
356

prāsmā mɪnoty ajarah, 191

prāsmaɪ yachatam avṛkam pṛthu
chardɪh, 100, 248 a, 254

prɪyam rājasu mā kuru (kṛnu), 190

prɪyam mā kuru (kṛnu) deveṣu (rājasu,
mā deveṣu kuru), 190

prɪyām yamas tanvam prārɪrecīt (tan-
vam ā rɪreca), 220

prɪyāny añgūnɪ tava vardhayantīh,
250 (p 166)

prɪyo dātur dakṣɪnūyā ɪha syām, 175

prɪyo devānām dakṣɪnāyaɪ dātur ɪha
bhūyāsam, 175

prɪyo me hṛdo (hɪto, huto) 'sɪ (bhava),
116 (p 67)

pretā jayatā narah, 261

preto muñcāmɪ (°tu, °tɪ, muñcatu)
nāmutah (etc), 30, 104 a, 312

pred u havyānɪ vocatɪ, 171, 329 (p
222)

premam sunvantam yajamānam ava-
tām (°tu, avantu), 367

pro ayāsīd ɪndur ɪndrasya nɪṣkṛtam, 230

phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva,
217

barhɪ (°hɪh) stṛnīhɪ (°nūhɪ, °nātɪ), 275,
342

balɪm ebhyo harāmīmam, 234 a

bahɪṣṭhebhɪr vɪharan yāsɪ tantum, 116
(p 73)

bahu ha vā ayam svarṣīd ɪtɪ etc , 205

bahu hāyam avṛṣād (°ṣad) ɪtɪ etc , 205

bahvīr (°vīr me) bhavata (bhūyāsta),
161

bādhatām dveṣo abhayam (°yam nah)
kṛnotu, 368

būdhasva dūre (dveṣo) nɪrṛtɪm parā-
caɪh, 368

bādhatām dveṣo abhayam kṛnutām,
368

bādhethām dūram nɪrṛtɪm parācaɪh, 368

bāhū rājanyah kṛtah (°nyo 'bhavat),
248

bɪbheda valam (balam) bhṛgur na
sasāhe (sasahe), 280

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena   vīryenod
dhare (°notsṛjāmy asau), 312

bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā   savɪtot
sṛjatu etc , 312

bhṛtam agnim purīṣyam, 281

bhyasāt te śuṣmāt pṛthivī cid adrivah,
117

manhiṣṭho gīrbhir ā ca yajñiyo
vavartat (°ta), 140

maghavāno vi rapśante (°śate), 193

mandūky apsu śam bhuvah, 104 q, 239

mandūkyā su sam gamah (gamaya),
104 q, 239

madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayiṣyāmi
etc , 30, 176, 241

madhu janiṣye (°ṣīya), 30, 176, 241

madhu tvā madhulā karotu (kṛnotu,
cakāra), 104 o, 190, 341

madhumatīm vācam udeyam, 104 y

madhumatīm devebhyo vācam udyā-
sam etc , 104 y

madhumatīm adya devebhyo vācam
vadiṣyāmi etc , 104 y

madhu me madhulā karah, 104 o, 341

madhu vanśiṣīya (vaniṣye), 176

madhye divah svadhayā mādayante
(°yethe), 371 c

madhye poṣasya tṛmpatām (puṣyatām,
poṣasva tiṣṭhantīm), 342

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (°śase)
prīnānah (prai°), 79, 288, 329 (p 226),
332 (p 233)

madhvā yajñam mimikṣatam (°ti),
116 (p 70), 371 b

manasaspata imam (°pate sudhātv
imam) . vāte dhāh (dhām), 304

(manuṣyān antarikṣam agan yajñas)
tato mā draviṇam aṣṭu, 39, 130

manai nu babhrūnām aham, 119, 191

manojavaso vah pitṛbhir dakṣiṇata
upa dadhatām, 349 (p 256)

manojavāsitvā pitṛbhir (pitaro) dak-
ṣiṇatah pātu (pāntu), 349 (p 256)

mano nv ā huvāmahe (°hi, hvā°), 2, 229

mano yajñena kalpatām (°te), 116
(p 67)

manoṣ ṭvā (manos tvā) grāmanyo
(°yo vratapate) vratenā dadhe
(°dhāmi), 49 a

mandasvā su svarnare, 240

mandāna id vṛṣāyase (ud vṛṣāyate),
328

mandāmi babhrūnām aham, 119

manmā dīdhyānā utā nah sakhāyā, 250
(p 163)

manyunā kṛtam (manyur akārṣīt)
etc , 246

manye bhejāno amṛtasya tarhi, 231

manye vāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau,
195

manye nu babhrūnām aham, 119, 191

manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī, 195

mama cittam cittenānvehi, 152, 370
(p 279)

mama cittam anu cittebhir eta (cittam
upāyasi), 152, 370 (p 279)

mama vrate-te hṛdayam (vra° hṛ° te)
dadhāmi (°tn), 312

mamāmitrān vi vidhyata (°tu), 371d

mameyam astu poṣyā, 337 (p 241)

mayi dhāyi (dhehi) suvīryam, 85, 130

mayi ramasva (ramadhvam), 370 (p
279)

mayo dātre bhūyāt, 161, 338

mayobhūr vāto abhi vātūsrāh (vāty
usrāh), 116 (p 70)

marutah sa   ṛchatu yo . 'bhi-
dāsati, 124

marutām pitas tad aham gṛnāmi
(gṛne te, pitar uta tad gṛnīmah),
36, 79, 345 (p 251)

marutām prasave (°vena) jaya (jayata,
jeṣam), 158, 308, 370 (p 277)

marutvatīyam uktham   stabhnātu
(°notu), 191

marutvantam sakhyāya havīmahe
(huvemahi), 2, 121

marudbhih pariśrīyasva, 87

marjayantir divah śiśum, 250 (p 167)

marto vurīta (vṛnīta, vareta) sakhyam,
10, 210 d

marmṛjyante divah śiśum, 250 (p 167)

marya iva yuvatibhih sam arṣati (iva
yoṣāh sam arṣase), 79, 337 (p 241)

mahaś cid abhy avardhata, 328

mahānt sann abhyavardhathūh, 328

mahi bhrājante (°ty) arcayo vi-
bhāvaso, 57

mahi no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau, 116
(p 72), 349 (p 256)

mā mā (mām) hiṅsiṣṭam svam (yat
svam) yoniṃ āviśantau (°śāthaḥ),
250 (p 167), 356
mā mā hiṅsīḥ (°sīt, °siṣṭa), 337 (p 237),
349 (p 257)
mā mā hiṅsīḥ svām (svam) yoniṃ
āviśantī (°śan), 250 (p 167), 356
mām indra bhaginam kṛnu, 190
māmiṣām kaṃ canoc chiṣaḥ, 85
māmiṣām moci kaś oana, 85
mā me prajāyā   prasṛpa motsṛpa
(°pata motsṛpata), 370 (p 279)
mā modoṣiṣṭam (°sīh), 368
mām punīhi (°nāhi) viśvataḥ, 275
mā yah somam imam pibāt (pibā,
somam pibād imam), 319, 331
mā (mā vayam) rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma,
277, 345 (p 251)
mā vo 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata, 62,
236
mū vo dabhat, 361
mū vo riṣat khaṇitā, 355, 358
mū savyena dakṣinam atikrāma (°mīh),
159, 182
mā suṣupthāḥ, 79, 211
mā somam pātv asomapaḥ, 159, 182
mā sv asmāṅs tamasy antarādhāḥ,
332 (p 231)
māham rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yoṣam, 277, 345
(p 251)
mā hiṅsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam
(ūh°), 284
mā hiṅsīḥ puruṣam jagat (hiṅsīt
puruṣān mama), 338
mā hṛṇīthā abhy asmān, 195, 243
mitras tvā padi badhnātu (°nītām), 54
mitrasya cakṣusā samīkṣāmahe, 303,
345 (p 251)
mitrasya mā cakṣuṣā   samīkṣantūm
(cakṣuṣekṣadhvam), 303
mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā samīkṣadhvam
(°ṣāmahe), 303, 345 (p 251)
mitrasyāham   cakṣuṣā .   samīkṣe,
303, 345 (p 251)
mitrāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (°vad
vidhema), 160, 290, 307
mitrāvaruṇau sa   ṛchatu yo
'bhidūsati, 124

mitro janān yātayati bruvānaḥ, 240
mitro nayatu (°ti) vidvān, 116 (p 70)
mithunam karṇayoḥ kṛdhi (kṛtam),
246
miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma, 116
(p 72), 349 (p 256)
mukham śundhasva, 30
muñcatu yajñam (°ño) yajñapatim
anhasaḥ svāhā, 337 (p 241)
muñcantu mā śapathyāt, 312
muñcemam yajñam muñca yajñapatim
anhasaḥ svāhā, 337 (p 241)
mṛtyoḥ padam (padām) yopayanto yad
aita (aima, °yanta eta, lopayante
yad eta or etad), 145 c, 307
mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt (mā patyuḥ),
30, 104 a
mṛdho vy āsthad abhayam no astu, 130
mene bhejāno amṛtasya tarhi, 231
meṣa iva vai sam ca vi corv acyase
(iva yad upa ca vi ca carvati, °ri),
337 (p 241)
mainam hiṅsiṣṭam svām yoniṃ
āviśantau, 356
mainam agne vi daho mābhi śocah
(śūśucah), 182, 211
mainām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (mainām
tapasā mārciṣābhi) śocīh (śocah,
śūśucah), 182, 201, 211
maiṣūm kaṃ canoc chiṣah, 85
maiṣūm uccheṣi kiṃ cana, 85
mo ṣvatvam asmūn tarādhūt, 332
(p 231)
mo ṣv asmāṅs tamasy antarādhāḥ,
332 (p 231)
mohayitvā nipadyate (prapadyante),
370 (p 277)
ya ājagma (°muh) savanemū (°nedam,
°nam idam, ājagmedam savanam)
juṣāṇāḥ, 331
ya āviṣṭo vayassu yo mṛgeṣu, 248
ya indreṇa saratham yāti devaḥ, 359
ya im vahanta āśubhiḥ, 30
ya etasmin loke sthā   bhūyāsta, 17,
262 k
ya cti pradiśah sarvūḥ, 331
yah prāṇati (°niti) ya im śṛṇoty uktam,
193

yasmāt param nāparam asti kim cit, 231

yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti, 231

yasmād anyo na paro asti jātah, 231

yasmād bhīta udavāśiṣṭa (bhīṣāvā-śiṣṭhāh), 337 (p 239)

yasmād bhīta udavepiṣṭa (bhīṣāve-piṣṭhāh), 337 (p 239)

yasmād bhītā (°to, bhīṣā) niṣīdasi (nyaṣadah, °sadah), 230

yasmād bhīṣā samjñaptāh (samajñās-thāh), 248

yasmād yoner udāritha (°tha) yaje (jajā) tam, 60, 118, 261

yasmān na jātah paro anyo asti ('sti), 231

yasmān nānyat param asti bhūtam, 231

yasmin devā adhi viśve niṣeduh (viṣ-aktāh), 246

yasmai kṛnoti (karoti) brāhmaṇah, 190

yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham (khanā-masi), 345 (p 250)

yasmai cāham khanāmi vah, 345 (p 250)

yasya kṛnmo (kurmo) havir gṛhe (gṛhe havīh), 190

yasya yonim patireto gṛbhāya (prati reto gṛhāna), 192

yasyām karmāni kurvate (kṛnvate), 190, 231

yasyāñjana prasarpasi, 370 (p 278)

yasyām uśantah praharāma (°rema) śepam (°pah), 169

yasyauṣadhīh prasarpatha, 370 (p 278)

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (yāś ca tatnire, akṛntan yā atanvan), 46, 218

yā ātmanvad bibhṛto (°tho) yau ca rakṣatah (°thah), 21, 329 (p 228)

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe prahinomi (°hinvo) etc , 117, 304

yā jātā pūtadakṣasā, 87

yā tām rātrīm upāsmahe, 314

yā tiraścī nipadyase (°te), 331

yā te tanūh pitṛṣv āviveśa, 248

yā te patighnī karomi, 190

yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta, 220, 365

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (°ti, vis-rayātai), 72, 253

yāni karmāni cakrire, 231

yā no dadāti śravanam pitṝnām, 116 (p 73)

yānti śubhrā rinann apah, 365

yām tvā rātry upāsmahe (upāsate, rātri yajāmahe), 314

yā prathamā vyauchat, 218

yūbhyām karmāni kurvate (kṛnvate), 190

yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau, 125, 229

yām indrena samadadhvam (°dhadh-vam, samdhām samadhatthāh), 370 (p 278)

yāmi mayūraromabhih, 309

yā rājānam (°nā) saratham yātha (yāta) ugrā, 21, 125, 331

yāvac ca sapta sindhavo vitasthire (°tasthuh), 76

yāvatīnām-yāvatīnām va aiṣamo lak-ṣanam akāriṣam etc , 104 e

yāvatīnām idam karomi (kariṣyāmi) etc , 104 e

yāvat sapta sindhavo vitasthire, 76

yāvayārātim, 242

yāvayāsmad dveṣam (yāvaya dveṣo asmat), 242

yāv ātmanvad viśatho (bibhṛto) yau ca rakṣathah (°tah), 21, 329 (p 228)

yāś ca devīr (°vyo, °vīs) antān (tan-tūn) abhito 'dadanta (tatantha, 'ta°), 220, 365

yāsyām patighnī tām kṛnomi, 190

yāhi mayūraromabhih, 309

yiyapsyata (yī°) iva te manah (mu-kham), 271

yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya, 246

yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha, 143, 246

yukṣvā (yuṅkṣvā) madacyutā harī, 192

yukṣvā (yuṅkṣvā) hi keśmā harī, 192

yukṣvā (yuṅkṣvā) hi vājinīvati, 192

yukṣvā (yuṅkṣvā) hi vṛtrahantama, 192

yukṣvā (yuṅgdhvam) hy aruṣī rathe, 192, 370 (p 279)

yo devānām carası prānathena, 337 (p 239)

yo na ındravāyū mıtrāvaruṇāv . . abhıdāsatı 124

yo no dveṣṭı tanūm rabhasva, 349 (p 257)

yo no dveṣṭy adharah sas padıṣṭa (sa padyatām), 161

yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva (rabhasva), 349 (p 257)

yo no mıtrāvarunā abhıdāsāt sapatnah, 124

yo māghāyur abhıdāsatı, 124

yo mā dadātı sa ıd eva māvāh (māvat), 137, 217

yo maıtasyā dıśo abhıdāsād . . . sā ṛchatu, 124

yau vıśvasya parıhhū (°syādhıpā) babhūvathuḥ (°tuh), 21, 329 (p 228)

rakṣā ca no damyebhır anīkaıh, 329 (p 226)

ranan (ranā) gāvo na yavase, 360

ratham na dhīrah svapā atakṣam (°ṣıṣuh), 315.

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (°nām huva) ūtaye, 2, 229

ratho na vājam sanıṣyann (sanıṣann) ayāsīt, 28, 234 c

ramadhvam mā bıbhīta mat (bıbhītana), 258

ramayata (°tā) marutah śyenam āyınam (°tah pretam vājınam), 261

rayım yena vanāmahaı (°he), 28, 124

rayım gṛnatsu dıdhṛtam (dhāraya), 210 a, 368

rayım ca nah sarvavīram (°rām) nı yacha (°chata, °chatu, °chāt), 154, 257, 370 (p 279)

rayın. ca putrān anusamvyayasva, 162, 308

rayım dhattam (dhattha, °tho) vasumantam purukṣum (śatagvınam), 116 (p 72), 369

rayım dhehı sarvavīram vacasyam, 363

rarātam ud ıva vıdhyatı (°sı), 338

rasena sam. agasmahı (aganmahı), 202

rājānam samgāyata (°yetām), 79, 330, 352

rājā pavıtraratho vājam āruhah (°hat), 329 (p 226)

rātrım-rātrım (rātrīm-rātrīm) aprayāvam hharantah, 250 (p 166)

rāyaś ca poṣam upasaṁvyayasva, 162, 308

rāyaś ca poṣaır ahhı nah sacadhvam (sacatām), 371 d

rāyas poṣam yajamāneṣu dhattam (dhāraya, dhehı), 368

rāyas poṣam vı ṣyatām (ṣyatu, ṣya) nābhım asme (asya), 329 (p 229), 368

rāyas poṣam abhı samvyayıṣye, 162, 308

rāyas poṣāyotsṛje (°jet), 325

rāyas poṣena sam sṛja (sṛjasva), 74

rāyas poṣo nı sīdatu, 116 (p 68)

rāṣṭram duhāthām ıha revatīhhīh, 21, 329 (p 224)

rāṣṭram amuṣmaı datta (dehı), 370 (p 279)

rucam no dhatta (dhehı) bṛhaspate, 355

rucıto gharmah, 239

rudra āhutah, 232

rudrasya sūnum havasā gṛnīması (vıvāse), 345 (p 251)

rudrān prīnāmı (ru° devān yajñenāpıprem), 233

rudrāya tvā mahyam varuno dadātu (°tı), 116 (p 67)

rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pāntu, 349 (p 257)

rudro vasubhır ā cake (cıketu), 139

rudro hūyamānah, 232

rūpam varnam paśūnām mā nırmṛkṣam, 289, 302, 312

rūpam vo rūpeṇābhyemı (°bhyāgām) vayasā vayah, 230

rūpād varnam mā nırmṛkṣat, 289, 302, 312

rūpena vo rūpam abhy āgām (aımı), 230

rejate śuṣmāt pṛthıvī cıd adrıvah, 117

reto dadhātv (°ty) oṣadhīṣu garbham, 116 (p 70)

reto dhattam puṣṭyaı prajananam, 49 a

revatı predhā yajñapatım āvıśa, 362

revatı yajamāne prıyam dhā āvıśa, 362

vāg yajñena kalpatām (°te), 116 (p 67)

vācam te mayı dadhe, 33

vācam te mā hınsısam (vācam asya mā
hınsīh), 304

vācam te śundhāmı, 30

vācam dhehı, 158

vācam paśūn (prānam   ) mā nır
mārjīh (mrkṣam), 206, 289, 302

vācam me tvayı dadhānı, 33

vācam me dāh, 158

vācaspatır' vācam adya (vācam nah,
vājam nah, no adya vājam) svadātı
(°tu, °atu) nah (te, —), 92, 104 p

vācaspatıh somam apāt (somam
pıbatu, °tı), 104 f

vācaspate   'chıdrayā aırayat
(°yant, °yasva, erayasva) svāhā, 40,
248, 338

vācaspate vāco . . °āyakṣase (°yak-
ṣyase, °yachase), 27, 171

vācah satyam aśīmahı (aśīya), 345
(p 250)

vācū somam avanayāmı, 345 (p 252)

vājam tvāgne jıgīvānsam sasanvānsam
(jeṣyantam   sanıṣyantam)   sam-
mārjmı, 234 d

vājasya nu (°syedaṁ) prasava ābabh-
ūva (°ve sam babhūvıma), 345 (p 251)

vājūn abhı pra gāhate (°se), 328

vājı tvā sapatnasāham sam mārjmı
(mārṣtı), 312

vājınam tvā vājıno 'vanayāmah (vā-
jıny avanayāmı), 345 (p 252)

vājıno me yajñam vahān (vahānı), 325

vājıno vājajıto 'dhvana skabhnuvanto
gachata, 250 (p 163)

vājıno vājajıto vājam sarıṣyanto (sar°
vājam jeṣyanto)   ava jıghrata,
329 (p 227), 352

vājıno vājajıto vājam sasṛvānso (jıgī-
vānso, sa° vājam jıgīvānso)   bhā-
gam avajıghrata nımrjānāḥ (bhāge
nı mrjatām, bhāge nı mrddhvam),
87, 284, 329 (p 228), 352

vājınau vājajıtau vājam jıtvā
avajıghratam (°tām, nımrjyethām),
87, 329 (pp 227, 228), 352

vājebhır mā hrnīyathāh, 195, 243

vāte dhāh, part of manaspata ımam
etc , q. v

vānaspatyā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata,
217, 229, 230

vāmī te (nāma) samdṛśı . dheṣīya
(dhı°, dhīmahı), 175, 279, 346'

vāyave stokānām, 156

vāyuh paśur āsīt tenāyajanta (°jata)
359

vāyur dīkṣıto   dīkṣayatu (dīkṣeta)
etc , 79, 160, 243

vāyuh somah aūrya   punantu, 355

vāyo ve (vīhı) stokānām (ṣto°), 156

vıcaranty apatıvratā, 231, 250 (p 165)

vı jıhīṣva lokaṁ kṛnu (jıhīrṣva lokān
kṛdhı), 210 a

vıdvīr yāman vavardhayan (yāmann
avar°), 218, 273

vıdād (vıded) ūrjam śatakratur vıdād
(vıded) ıṣam, 169

vıded (vıder) agnır (agner, agne) nabho
nāma, 332 (p 233)

vıdeya (°yam), 68

vıdma te dhāma (vıdmā te nāma)
paramam guhā yat, 261

vıdma (°mā) te svapna janıtram, 261

vıdhṛtır ası (°tī sthah), 368

vı parjanyam (°yāh) sṛjantı rodasī
anu, 74, 116 (p 69), 349 (p 255), 361

vı pāpmanā pṛkta, 352

vıpṛca (°cah, °cas, °cau) stha (sthah),
352

vı pṛchad ıtı mātaram, 9, 137

vıprā (vıprāya) gātham gāyata yaj
jujoṣatı (°ṣat, yam jujoṣate), 45, 253

vıbhum kāmam (vıbhūn kāmān) vy
aśīya (aśnavaı), 169

vı mamarśa rohıto vıśvarūpah, 218

vı mā pāpmanā (pāpena) pṛkta
(°tam), 352

vı mımīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm (vım-
ıme tvā pa devānām), 116 (p 69),
304

vı mucyantām usrıyāh (mucyadhvam
aghnyā [°nıyā] devayānāh), 341

vı jojanā mımıdhvam etc , 250 (p 163)

vı yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā (yo
rajānsy amımīta sukratuh), 218

śrī (śrīr) me bhajata (°tu), 79, 156

śrutām brahmāny āvasā gatām, 152, 367

śrotā grāvāno viduṣo na yajñam, 210 a

śrotram yajñena kalpatām (°te), 116 (p 67)

śrotram te mā hiṅsiṣam, 304

śrotrapāh (°pā) śrotram me pāhi (pūtu), 337 (p 237)

śrotram asya mā hiṅsīh, 304

śrotram mayi (me) dhehi (dūh), 158

śrotrāya me varcodāh (°dau, °dā varcase) pavasva (pavethām), 372 a

ślakṣṇam evāva gūhati (°si), 329 (p 224)

śvahsutyām (°yām vā) . prabravīmi (°brūtāt), 116 (p 68)

sa idam viśvam abhavat sa ābhavat, 341

sa idaṁ devebhyo havih (havyaṁ) suśami (śamīṣva su°) śamīṣva (śami°), 285

sa īm vṛṣājanayat (°yaṅs) tāsu garbham, 250 (p 165)

sam yujyāva saṁbhya ā, 356

sam revatīr jagatībhir (°bhih proyantām sam) madhumatīr madhumatībhih prcyantām (srjyadhvam), 329 (p 224)

samvatsaraś ca (°ras te) kalpatām (°antūm), 355

samvatsarīnām (°rīyāṁ) svastim āśāste (āśāse), 317

samvatsarena paribhūh (paryabhavat), 248

saṁ vasāthām (vase°) svarvidā (°vidau), 193

samvidam me vinda (vindata), 349 (p 257)

sam sanuyāva variṣv ā, 356

samsarpa (°pan) trīn samudrān svargān (°gānl lokān), 130, 250 (p 165), 337 (p 242)

sam sūryasya jyotiṣāganma, 345 (p 251)

sam sūryena rocate (°se, didyute, didyutad udadhir nidhih), 79, 227, 341

samhānāya (°hāsyate) svāhā, 234 c

sakhāya ā śiṣāmahi (°he), 131

sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma (°yau °padūv abhūva, °padā babhūva; sakhā °padā [°dī] bhava), 130, 307, 367

sakhyāt (°yam) te mā yoṣam (yoṣāh), 168, 182, 307

sa gantā gomati vraje, 174, 248 a, 324

sa gharmam invāt (indhām) parame sadhasthe, 152

sam gachatām (°asva) tanvā (tanuvā) jātavedah (suvarcāh), 337 (p 242)

sa cakārārasaṁ viṣam, 341

sacāyor indraś carkṛṣa ā, 79

sacāvahe (°hai) yad avṛkam purā cit, 26, 124, 253

sajātānām asad (aso) vaśī, 341

sajātānām madhyameṣṭhāh (°ṣṭheyāya, °ṣṭhā yathāsāni, °masthā edhi), 311

samyajñāne rodasī sambabhūvatuh, 356

samjānate (sam jānāmahai) manasā sam cikitre (cikitvā), 117, 324

samjānāneṣu vai brūyāh, 342

samjānānau vijahatām arātīh, 250 (p 166)

samjihānāya svāhā, 87

samjīvā (°vikā) nāma stha tā imam (imam amum) samjīvayata (samjīvā stha samjīvyāsam), 161, 238, 305

samjñānāneṣu vai brūyāt, 342

samjñānena vo haviṣā yajāmah, 345 (p 249)

sam jyotiṣābhūma (°bhūvam), 345 (p 251)

satyam vadiṣyāmi (°ṣy e), 64

satyam ṛte 'dhāyi ('dhām), 85, 266

satyābhighṛtam (°tam asi) satyena tvābhighārayāmi, 241

satyāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (°vad vidhema), 160, 290, 307

satyena tvābhighārajāmi (°bhijigharmi), 241

satyena parivartaye (°ya), 66, 116 (p. 70), 304

sa tvākar ekavṛṣabham svūnūm, 145 a

sa tvā manmanasāṁ karotu (°sam kṛnotu), 190

sa tvaitebhyaḥ parı dadat (dadāt) pitṛbhyaḥ, 11, 167, 193

sadato me mā kṣāyi (me mopadasaḥ °sat), 329 (p 223)

sadā va ındraś carkṛṣad ā, 79

sa dṛṣṭo mṛdayāti (°tu; mṛl°) naḥ, 173

sadyaḥsutyām .. prabravīmı etc, 116 (p 68)

sadyo jajñāno havyo babhūtha (°va), 341

sa naḥ pıto madhumāṅ ā vıśeha (vivéśa), 69, 139, 332 (p 233)

sa naḥ pūrnena vāvanat (yachatu), 154

sa naḥ prajāyaı haryaśva mṛdaya (mṛda), 194

sa naḥ śarma tṛıvarūthaṁ vı yaṅsat, 106, 210 b

sanıṣyantaś cıt tuvınṛmna vājam, 234 d

sanemi rājā pariyāti vidvān, 116 (p 69)

sa no jīveṣv ā yame, 117

sa no devaḥ śubhayā smṛtyā sam-yunaktu (°ti), 116 (p 69)

sa no deveṣv ā yamat, 117

sa no nedıṣṭham havanāny āgamat (°nı joṣat), 45, 140, 253

sa no nedıṣṭhā havanāni josate (°nā jujoṣa), 45, 140, 253

sa no mayobhūḥ pıto (pıtav, pıtur) āvıśasva (°śeha, āvıveśa), 36, 69, 139, 332 (p 232)

sa no muñcātu (rakṣıṣad) durıtād avadyāt, 173

sa no mṛdātīdṛśe, 152, 367

sa no rayım sarvavīram ni yachatu, 154

sa no vasūny (vıśvāny) ā hhara (°rāt), 153, 341

sa no vıśvānı havanānı joṣat, 45, 140, 253

sam tvā tatakṣuh (tatakṣnuh), 231, 273

sam devı (devī) devyorvaśyā paśyasva (°vaśyākhyata), 136, 329 (p 227)

sam devaır vıśvadevebhır aktam, 144

sam nahyasvāmṛtāya kam, 30, 308

samnahye (°hya) sukṛtāya kam, 30, 308

sannān māvagām (°gāta), 306

sam no mahāni sam ıso mahantām, 116 (p 69)

san me bhūyāḥ (°yāt), 341

sapatnahā marutām prasave jaya, 158, 308

sapatnān sahiṣīmahi (°vahi), 369

sapatnīm me sahāvahai, 369

saputrıkāyām jāgratha, 19, 152

sa pūrvavaj janayañ (°yaj) jantave dhanam, 250 (p 166)

sa pūrvyo nūtanam āvıvāsat (ājıgīṣam, °ṣat), 312

sapta yonīr (yonīnr) ā pṛnasva (°svā) ghṛtena, 261

sapta svasāro abhı sam navante (°ta), 229

sapratha (°thaḥ) sabhām me gopāya (pāhı, 'jugupaḥ), 130

sabhya sabhāṁ me pāhı, 130

sam agnıs tapasāgata, 248

sam aṅktām barhır havıṣā ghṛtena, 87, 144

sam ayāva sam kalpāvahai, 308

sam arīr (arır) vidām (vıdah), 157, 329 (p 223)

sam aśvaparnāś caranti (°tu, °parnāḥ patantu) no naraḥ, 116 (p 69)

sam aham āyuṣā .. gmīya (gmıṣīya), 175

samākurvānaḥ praruho ruhaś ca, 232

sam ākūtīr (°tır) namāmasi (anansata), 50, 230, 312

samāgachantīṣam ūrjaṁ vasānāḥ (du-hānāh), 231

samācakrānaḥ praruho ruhaś ca, 232

samānam yonım anu samcarantī (°car-ete), 250 (p 167)

samānam yonım ahhı sambabhūva, 356

samānena vo havıṣā juhomı, 345 (p 249)

samāne nıvıṣṭo 'mṛtam juhomı (nivıśy-āmṛtam hutam), 246

sam āpū oṣadhībhir gachantām (āpo adhhır agmata), 130

sa mūm āvıśatād ıha, 254

samāvavarttı (samāvṛtat) pṛthıvī, 230

samıṅgayati sarvataḥ, 284

samıtam saṁkalpethām, 308

sam ındra ṇo (no) manasā neṣı (neṣa)
gobhıh, 164

sam ındrena viśvebhır devebhır (ındro
viśvadevebhır) ʹūktūm, 144

samlıṅgayatı sarvatah, 284

samīcīnūsa āsate (āśata), 230

samudrasya tvākṣıtyā un nayāmi (vo
'kṣı° un naye), 51

samudre tvā sadane sūdayāmı (°dre
sad° sīda), 238

sam u vām (vo) yajñam mahayam
(°yan) namobhıh, 315

sam ūdho romaśam hatah, 20, 337
(p 242)

sameddhūram aṅhasa uruṣyāt (°sah
pāhı), 153, 341

samprca (°cas, °cah) stha (°cau sthah)
sam mū bhadrena prṅkta (°tam), 352

sam pra cyavadhvam upa (anu) sam
pra yāta, 362

sampriyah (°yam prajayā) paśubhır
bhava (bhuvat), 23, 107, 154, 337
(p 236)

sam babhūva sanibhya ā, 356

sam barhır aktam (aṅktām) haviṣā
ghṛtcna, 87, 144

sam būhubhjām dhamatı (bharatı,
namatı, °te, °yām adhamat) sam
patatraıh (yajatraıh), 50, 229

sammıślo aruṣo bhava (bhuvah), 23,
107, 154

samyag āyur yajñam (°ño) yajñapa-
tau dadhātu (dhūh), 158, 338

sa yajñam pātu sa yajñapatım sa
mām pātu, 329 (p 227)

sa yajñam pāhı (pāhı sa) yajñapatım
pāhı sa mām pāhı, 329 (p 227)

sa yajñıyo yajatu (°tı) yajñıyāṅ
ṛtūn, 116 (p 69)

sa jathā tvam rucjā roco 'sj
rucıṣīya (rucyā rocasa   rocısīya),
249, 279

sa jathā tvam bhrājatā bhrājo 'sy
    bhrājjyāsam   (tvam   bhrājjyā
bhrājasa   bhrājıṣīya), 57, 249

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (hav-
ante), 2, 5, 194, 223, 229

sarasvatī (°tīh) svapasah sadantu
(°tām), 73ʹ

sarasvatyā (°tyām) adhi manāv (mānā,
vanāva, manāv), acarkṛṣuh (acak°,
carkṛdhı), 136, 236, 360, 372 c

sarasvantam avase johavīmı, 2, 3, 78,
121, 345 (p 251)

sarāh patatrinīh sthana (stha, sarā
patatrini bhūtvā), 250 (p 165),
257

sarıre tvā sadane sūdayāmı, 238

sarvam tad asmān mā hıṅsīh (°sīt),
337 (p 242)

sarvam tam bhasmasā (masmasā)
kuru, 130, 304

sarvam āyur ayāni (aśīya, ası, ıhı,
geṣam), 104 v

sarvam āyur dadhātu me, 365

sarvam āyur vyānaśe (vyaśnavaı), 39,
140, 324

sarvam punatha (punīta) me pāpam,
79, 152

sarvam punatha me yavāh, 79, 152

sarvah sarvā vı caratu prajānan, 116
(p 68)

sarvāṅ agnıhr apsuṣado huve (huve
vah), 2, 346

sarvāṅ apa yajāmasi, 60

sarvāṅs tān mṛsmṛsā (masmaṣā) kuru,
130, 304

sarvān ava yajāmahe, 60

sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram, 130, 304

sarvān patho anṛnā ā kṣīyema (kṣı°),
282

sarve devā atyāyantı (°tu), 94, 116
(p 72)

sarve vrātā varunasyābhūvan (°bhū-
ma), 316

sarve sākam nı jasyata, 139

salakṣmā (°ma) jad vıṣurūpā (°pam)
bhavātı (babhūva), 104 h, 330, 365

salile tvā sadane sūdayāmı (sal° ssd°
sīda), 238

sa vah sarvāh sam caratı prajānan, 116
(p 68)

savitā te hastam agrabhīt (°hīt,
°bhīd asau), 130

sumnāya sumninī sumne mā dhattam, 369

sumnāyuvah (°yavas) sumnyāya sumnam (°nyam) dhatta, 369

sumne sthah sumne mā dhattam, 369

suyame me adya ghṛtācī bhūyāstam (me bhūyāstam), 161

surayā (surāyā) mūtrāj janayanti (°ta) retah, 44, 229

surucitam mām devamanuṣyeṣu kuru, 249

suvar , see svar

suvīrābhis tarati vājakarmabhih (tirate vājabharmabhih), 47, 197

suvedā no vasū karat (kṛdhi), 93

suśami samīṣva (śami°, śamnīṣva), 192, 285

suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda, 116 (p 73)

suṣadām āsīda (āsadam), 130, 308

susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi, 116 (p 73)

suhutakṛtah stha suhutam kariṣyatha (°tam akārṣṭa), 104 n

sūcībhih samyantu (sim°, samayantu) tvā, 241

sūyamemaa 'dya stam etc , 161

sūro aktuṣv ā yt.man (°at), 361

sūryah pavitram sa mā punātu, 355

sūryah paśur āsīt tenāyajanta etc , 359

sūryam cakṣur gachatu (cakṣuṣā gacha) vātam ātmā (°manā), 338

sūrya nāvam ārukṣah, 133, 306

sūryam te cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā, 338

sūrya bhrājiṣṭha (etc) asi (bhūyāh, edhi), 104 d

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (āroha), 130, 306

sūryasya tapas tapa (tapah), 25, 156

sūryasya raśmin anv ātatāna (°tantha), 338

sūryasyāvṛtam anvāvarte (°vartasvāsau), 311

srjad (srjo vi) dhārā ava yad dānavān (ava dānavam) han, 332 (p 231)

sed agnir agnīnr aty astv (ety) anyān, 116 (p 70)

sed u rūjū kṣayati (kṣeti) carṣanīnām, 193

seyam āgād varcasā samvidānā, 130

so asmān (asmān) adhipatīn karotu, 190

so 'dhvarū karati jātavedāh, 154, 351

soma indro dhārayantām etc , 79

somah pavitram sa mā punātu, 355

somah punānah kalaśeṣu sīdati (sattā), 248 a

somam sa (etc) ṛchatu yo 'bhidāsati, 124

somam te krīnāmy etc , 119

somavikrayin somam te krīnāni etc , 119

somasyāham devayajyayā suretā (viśvam) reto dhiṣīya (dhe°), 279

somā arṣanti (°tu) viṣnave, 116 (p 71)

somā indro . dhārayantu, 79

somānām pītim arhathah, 368

somāya vaca udyatam (ucyate), 248

so 'mṛtatvam aśīya (aśyāt), 39, 313

somo arṣati viṣnave, 116 (p 71)

somo janimān sa māmuyā janimantam karotu svāhā, 130

somo 'dadad, (dadad, 'dadād) gandharvāya, 193, 266

śomo rayim sahavīram ni yañsat, 154

somo retodhās dhiṣīya, 279

somo vasuvin mahyam jāyām imām adāt, 130

somo vīram karmanyam dadāti (°tu), 116 (p 67)

so 'smān adhipatīn kṛnotu, 190

so 'syai ('syāh) prajām muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt, 173

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (sanāmy agneh), 121

stuta, 75

stuto yāsi (yāhi) vaśāñ anu, 164

studhvam, 75

stuṣeyyam puruvarpasam ṛbhvam, 250 (p 167)

stuṣva varṣman puruvartmānam samṛbhvānam, 250 (p 167)

sviṣṭim nas tān (tām) kṛnavad
(kṛnotu) viśvakarmā (vi° kṛnotu),152
sve loke viśā (viśa) iha, 118
hatam vṛścika te viṣam, 246
hatas te atrīnā kṛmih (kṛ°), 246
hato (hatho) dāsānı satpatī, 20, 32ε
    (p 222)
hato me pāpmā, 246
hato (hatho) viśvā apa dviṣah, 20, 329
    (p 222)
hato (hatho) vṛtrāny āryā (apratı), 20,
    329 (p 222), 332 (p 232)
harih san yonım āsadat (°dah), 328
harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (°atā) marutvah,
    86, 232
havante vājasātaye, 2, 78, 316, 345
    (p 251)
haviṣmantah sadam it tvā havāmahe
    (°manto namasā vidhema te), 121
havyā te svadantām (svadam, svadan,
    asvadan), 8, 79, 104 1, 323
havyā no asya haviṣah śṛnotu (kṛnotu,
    °ṣaś cıketu, °ṣo juṣeta), 160

hastacyutī (°tam) janayanta (°yata)
    praśastam, 372 c
hınva (°vā) me gātrā (gātrāni) harı-
    vah, 261
hutāhutasya tṛpyatam (tṛmpatam),
    195
huve nu śakram puruhūtam ındram,
    2, 5, 36, 78, 194
huvema (huveya) vājasātaye, 2, 78,
    316, 345 (p 251)
hṛdā matım janaye (°ya) cārum
    agnaye, 44, 116, (p 70), 307
hṛdārātīyād (°yann) abhidāsad agne,
    250 (p 167)
hṛdo astv antaram taj jujoṣat (tad
    yuyota), 365
hotā mandro nı śasādā yajīyān, 218
hotā yakṣad aśvınau (°nā) sarasvatīm
    ındram   pıbatu madantām vy-
    antu (vyantu pıbantu madantu
    etc), 58, 355
hvayāmı śakram puruhūtam ındram
    2, 5, 36, 78, 194